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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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U.S., USSR Disarmanent Progress Viewed

PM0708142591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5

["My Opinion" report By Vsevolod Ovchinnikov: "From Hiroshima to the World"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The sides spent nine long years moving toward the treaty signed in Moscow. And a further seven years have been set aside to implement it. As a result, so skeptics point out, by 1999 Moscow and Washington will have approximately the same number of warheads as in 1982, when the talks on strategic offensive arms began. Let us agree, however, that any brakes are better than no brakes. There is also cause to ponder something else. If the USSR and the United States have scrapped just approximately one-third of their strategic arsenals by 1999, the idea of entering the 21st century without nuclear weapons is hardly realistic, although it still has value as a guiding line.

Be that as it may, mankind is moving toward a nuclear-free, nonviolent world. The unilateral Soviet moratorium, the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, and the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms are milestones on this path. It is important for the disarmament process to develop without protracted pauses. However, THE LOS ANGELES TIMES points out, the two presidents' opinions on this question differ. Whereas the Soviet leader proposes moving on without delay, his U.S. partner is in no hurry to resume the talks. In the new treaty, the newspaper points out, the United States has managed to avoid any mention of naval arms. And the White House is least of all interested in somehow limiting the U.S. superiority on the seas in the year before the elections.

Account must, however, be taken of the fact that, with new heights being scaled, other problems have taken on a different complexion and become topical and acute. It is necessary to curb the arms race on the seas and prevent it in space. Chemical weapons must be totally banned and their stockpiles destroyed. A mechanism is needed to impede the spread of nuclear and missile technology and any means of mass destruction. The potential of trust accumulated since the end of the "cold war" enables Moscow and Washington together to set about creating a system of lasting security under conditions of openness, stability, and predictability. [passage omitted]

The global problems which mankind has encountered on the threshold of the new millennium have been drawn into a tight knot. And they can only be resolved comprehensively, by tackling the chief element—nuclear disarmament. For this generates trust, releases material and intellectual resources for creative purposes, and, most importantly, spares the human race the fate of the victims of Hiroshima.

Military Analyst Bogachev on Nuclear Test Ban

LD0608153191 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 6 Aug 91

[By Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—During hearings in the U.S. Senate's Foreign Affairs Committee several legislators asked the new U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Robert Strauss to make necessary efforts in Moscow in order to set into motion the stalled problem of the complete ban on nuclear weapons testing. Strauss agreed to comply with the senators' request without hesitation.

This episode attracted the attention of disarmament experts for two reasons. Firstly, Moscow is not a place where there is a need for agitation in favour of a complete ban on nuclear explosions. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proclaimed its readiness to sign an agreement on the complete ban of all nuclear testing at any moment and agree to the strictest possible verification if the United States joins such an agreement. Secondly, it has turned out that the new American ambassador's position on the test problem is much more consistent with the spirit of the time than that of the U.S. administration's official policy in the vital field of arms control. Representatives of the U.S. State Department insist that tests ensure the reliability of nuclear weapons and nuclear weapons ensure stability in the world. Because of this, Washington says, it is still a long way to go before the complete ban on nuclear explosions becomes possible.

Twenty-eight years have elapsed since the Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon testing in the atmosphere, space and underwater was signed. Enormous changes have taken place in the world. Major agreements have been signed to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles, cut conventional arms in Europe and reduce strategic arms. A line has been drawn under the gloomy cold war period. The Soviet Union is withdrawing its troops from East Europe, the Warsaw Pact has been disbanded. Washington announced its intention to cut its military budget and troops within five years.

Particularly favorable conditions have emerged for the final solution of the issue of underground nuclear tests. The Soviet Union, for instance, has abstained from such explosions for more than a year. However, a treaty on the complete ban has yet to be worked out. First of all, the delay is prompted by the differences in the two sides' ultimate goals. The USSR regards the complete ban as its main objective. The United States aims to work out measures to control continuing tests.

It has been said that nuclear testing is litmus paper making the true stance of one or another state with regard to major problems of war and peace to be defined with utmost clarity.

President George Bush said recently that the United States changes in response to changes in the Soviet Union. These words also reflect the evolution of ideas concerning different ways of ensuring national security. Changes have occurred in the two countries' military doctrines, budgets and military planning. Regrettably, the U.S. negative stance toward nuclear tests has remained unchanged.

Ignatenko Holds Briefing on Various Issues

PM0808093691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[By G. Alimov on press briefing by Vitaliy Ignatenko, leader of the USSR president's press service—date not stated: "First Ceremony of Signing the Union Treaty Set for 20 August"]

[Text] USSR President M. Gorbachev, who is currently on vacation in the Crimea, will most likely return to Moscow by 20 August. Vitaliy Ignatenko, leader of the head of state's press service, announced that the first ceremony of signing the new Union treaty is scheduled for that day. The first to sign the document will be the plenipotentiary state delegations of Russia and its component republics, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan.

The entire solemn ceremony is to take place in the Kremlin's St. George's Hall in the presence of the USSR president, the prime minister, the head of the Union parliament, and other USSR leaders. It is expected that Belorussia and Tajikistan will adhere to the treaty on 3 September, followed by other participants in the Novo-Ogarevo process. In V. Ignatenko's opinion the signing of the Union treaty could be completed in the next two months. The Supreme Soviets of eight union republics, though not the Ukraine, have already approved the draft Union treaty that was submitted.

In reply to a question on whether there is any information about the possibility of Armenia and Moldova joining the new federation, the USSR president's official spokesman stated that "there is hope."

The opening of the process of signing the new Union treaty is an event of enormous importance for our country. A very complex and difficult process which all the republics watched carefully is nearing completion. But the act of signing does not in itself mean that some kind of final line is drawn. On the contrary, after this the building of a federation on a new basis will begin. The drafting of a new constitution for the country, the adoption of a new electoral law, elections to the new Supreme Soviet, and nationwide elections of a USSR president lie ahead. These milestones will in themselves require great efforts, cooperation, and mutual understanding. And the important thing is that all these questions are not being postponed indefinitely, but have to be resolved in the very near future. This process could take 18 months or two years.

Incident at Lithuanian Customs Post Under Presidential Supervision

Speaking at a joint press conference during the Soviet-American summit, M. Gorbachev stated that the investigation into the tragedy at the Lithuanian customs post is under his direct supervision. Journalists asked V. Ignatenko what that means. "The president's personal supervision is a very serious measure," he said. "On this occasion, the entire leadership of the USSR KGB and MVD [Internal Affairs Ministry] is dealing with the matter, on the president's instructions. V. Kryuchkov is under personal instructions. And everything is reported to the president immediately. We hope that this large-scale and thorough analysis of what happened will make it possible to get results quickly."

When Will Diplomatic Relations Between the USSR and Israel Be Restored?

"We are on the way," the speaker at the briefing stated. "And now it is not a matter of weeks or months. The important thing is that we are disposed to do this. The resumption of diplomatic relations could take place unexpectedly quickly for some, unexpectedly slowly for others."

What Is M. Gorbachev Doing While on Vacation?

Answering this question, V. Ignatenko said that in this case the president's vacation can only be described as relative. Every day he receives a mass of documents and works on them as actively as in Moscow. The president is also in contact with leaders of the country, republics, krays, and oblasts. The president's aide observed that M. Gorbachev will visit some region or other during his vacation. Nor can a meeting with republic, kray, and oblast leaders who are also on vacation at present be ruled out.

How Many Letters Does the President Receive?

The leader of the head of state's press service reported that in the first half of this year M. Gorbachev received 150,000 letters from our country and 45,000 from abroad. The president reads some of them personally. For instance, in the past six months the president has given appropriate indstructions on 850 letters concerning the most acute and complex problems.

Some 45 percent of the president's foreign mail comes from West Europe. He receives most letters from Germany, Sweden, and the United States. The president also finds time to answer some of the messages personally.

NATO's Retention, USSR Membership Urged

PM0708143391 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No. 30, Jul 91 (signed to press 23 Jul 91) pp 20-21

[By Sergey Korshunov under the rubric "The Common European Home": "The Road Through NATO: Trap or Opportunity? The Past, Present, and Possible Future of the North Atlantic Alliance"]

[Text] Following the collapse of the Warsaw Pact Organization [WPO], there has been alarm among Soviet military specialists and among the public at large: Has the USSR not ended up "one-on-one" against the "aggressive imperialist bloc of NATO?" In this process, it is somehow forgotten that this is not the first time our country finds itself in this position: NATO was created in 1949 and the WPO in 1955, but nonetheless nobody attacked us at the time.

In recent years it also became clear that the WPO's "defensive fraternal alliance" also turned out to be nothing more than a decoration covering up the military presence of the "elder brother" on contiguous territories. It is terrible to think how the "younger brothers" would have behaved in conditions of actual combat operations, if even in peacetime the USSR kept having to use force to pacify the most refractory of them, those who had no desire to accept the barracks model of socialism. After all, the Soviet Union only had to announce the withdrawal of troops from the territories of East European countries and the "indestructible alliance" crumbled like a house of cards.

During these years it became clear, however, that even NATO was not so much an "aggressive," "imperialist," or even a military bloc, but rather a political union of the industrially developed countries of Europe and North America which were interested in the stability of their economic development and therefore opposed all potential risk factors which could upset this stability. And until recently (and possibly even now) the principal factor was the Soviet Union. At any rate, after comparing numbers of the most destabilizing conventional weapons (tanks, infantry fighting vehicles, heavy artillery, and aircraft) in Vienna, it turned out that fears regarding NATO's "offensive character" have been greatly exaggerated. Whichever one of these categories of weapons were taken, the USSR had superior numbers. In terms of the deployment of their conventional forces too, the Atlanticists were obviously not an "aggressive bloc," in this respect coming second to the USSR which concentrated powerful tank fists on the territory of its "brothers-in-arms" during the cold war period.

However, fears are fears. They cannot be disposed of immediately, even if they are purely psychological in character. The question is: What are the best ways of overcoming them most painlessly?

Some people are demanding the immediate disbandment of NATO. This is not just unrealistic, it is very likely that it would not be in our interests since the Atlantic alliance, whatever the attitude to it, actually guarantees stability on the continent that is so necessary in the unpredictable transition period from blocs to all-European security structures. I am not talking here about the fact that NATO is a kind of "muzzle" on Germany which, in the near future, will be vigorously asserting its political and economic positions in Europe.

It has to be admitted that more often than not the demands by our jingoists are having a "boomerang effect": The louder they shout about the need to disband NATO, the more the Atlanticists are convinced that it is useful to preserve the alliance just in case. After all, demands of this sort testify to the fact that there are still plenty of people in the Soviet Union who are still guided by the stereotypes of the confrontational model of a "bipolar" world that has passed into history. All the more so in view of the fact that even if our leadership seriously sets itself the task of disbanding NATO, it will have to make allowances for the stubborn fact that not one of the European states, including the East European countries, wants this. There are no reasons in Europe today—either objective or subjective—to liquidate NATO or dismantle its basic structures, both political and military. This fact alone gives us cause to ponder how we can live with existing reality, and not struggle fruitlessly against it.

Incidentally, the calls for the immediate disbandment of NATO remind me personally of last year's political slogans: "Do not allow Germany to unite!" or "Germany's participation in NATO is unacceptable to us!" At the time incantations of this sort were interpreted by everyone in Europe as Soviet attempts to shake their fist at a departing train which, of course, put the USSR in a fairly comical situation. So why repeat these mistakes?

It is also said that henceforth it is necessary to build security not on a bloc basis but on all-European structures by extending and deepening the CSCE process. It is difficult to argue with this, of course. And the "common European home" is a wonderful idea. But the whole question is how to realize this idea. Realistic plans on this score are somehow not forthcoming, although slogans are a dime a dozen. We must not close our eyes to an obvious fact: The pan-European idea is realizable only in homogeneous world conditions, that is to say conditions of a single economic and political space with its democratic ingredient. How we arrive at such a world is the key question. It is clear, however, that it cannot be built immediately, it will be a gradual process drawn out over many decades. And today we are not only in no state to enroll in the "common European home," but we cannot even bring order into our own home and organize a single economic and political space.

We should also realize that the institutionalization of the CSCE will also require an indefinitely long period of time. We cannot rule out that as a result a sort of "European United Nations" will be born with all the external attributes of a collective security system, but which will operate primarily on paper.

So why should an efficient security mechanism such as NATO be destroyed in these circumstances? Might it be more sensible to adapt it to the new conditions and use the famous "common European home" as a basis for it? In other words—to europeanize NATO.

I foresee objections: NATO is a product of the cold war which should "die a natural death" in the postconfrontational period.

I will not argue because what is true is true. But "the death of NATO" is again a process that takes time. And it is not an exaggeration to say that this process has begun. Today the North Atlantic alliance is already different from what it used to be. The political aspects of its activity have been noticeably reinforced at the expense of military aspects. There have been certain positive moves with regard to reducing troops and weapons, changes to the structure and deployment of the armed forces, modifications in military doctrine, a stepping down of military exercises, and a reduction in the member countries' military budgets.

All these facts reflect the emerging trend toward NATO's politicization and its fairly rapid evolution into a qualitatively new organization geared primarily to events outside the continent, beyond the confines of Europe. It is clear that from now on NATO will change as the situation in Europe and the world changes and the axis of global contradictions shifts from the plane of East-West relations to the plane of North-South relations.

NATO circles, of course, do not conceal the fact that one of the potential risk factors for the alliance countries is the USSR and its unstable internal situation. But what is basically worrying them today is not how to confront the Soviet Union but how to adapt the bloc to new political realities while first and foremost bearing in mind "extra-European" risk factors—which are now the priority—and thus reducing confrontation toward the USSR. It is precisely for this purpose that at present NATO is not only setting up rapid deployment forces, but is also planning new large-scale cuts (amounting to at least one-half) in its armed forces in Central Europe and also incorporating multinational components into them. NATO is rejecting the doctrine of a cohesive front-line disposition of forces ("forward-based defense") and modifying the "flexible response" doctrine to exclude the possibility of nuclear weapons being used during the early stages of a hypothetical European conflict, envisaging a situation in which these might be used only as a "last resort." It is also impossible to overlook NATO's desire to promote by all means intensive contacts between the USSR and the bloc's headquarters.

Generally speaking, the impression is being formed that NATO's main concern is to do everything it can to avoid giving the USSR the impression that it is isolated following the WPO's collapse. It is precisely this fact, for instance, that explains the hard line being taken by the principal NATO countries toward our former WPO "allies": All their attempts to ingratiate themselves into the NATO structure—if not through the door then through the window—have been unambiguously thwarted. And it seems that the main reason for this is the fact that the NATO countries do not want to give our conservatives reason to allege that the WPO's disbandment has automatically led to an extension of NATO's zone of responsibility by shifting the former line of confrontation toward Soviet borders.

And there is more. From time to time the Soviet Union is given to understand that under certain conditions it may also be allowed to participate in NATO. USSR military representatives are already invited to sessions of the Atlantic alliance's organs, and there are proposals to exchange military academy students, conduct joint research, and so forth. Why not assume that joint exercises and maneuvers will be possible in the future, as well as participation by the Soviet Armed Forces in the multinational NATO security structures, for example the rapid deployment forces? I do not think we should push away the "Atlantic" hand that is being proffered by the West. Moreover, you should not demand the disbandment of NATO if you are expecting aid from its member countries. This is not just irrational, it is also dishonest.

Maybe we should discard the ideological blinders and think about building collective security using NATO's existing political structures?

In specific terms this would mean the USSR agreeing with NATO to cooperate in maintaining security on the territory of Europe, North America, and the Soviet Union, and also agreeing to participate in the tested NATO structures for coordinating the various political interests of the bloc's states. In future the USSR could become an associate member of NATO, especially as there are no provisions in the North Atlantic Treaty itself that are unacceptable to us: The documents relating to military integration, doctrine, and so forth were adopted at a later stage and do not apply directly to political cooperation. Neither should we forget that during the fifties we ourselves applied to NATO on two occasions.

Needless to say, putting the question in this form is unusual, and it is hard to accept. I think, however, that the enormous advantages that this step would entail would outweigh the emotional disadvantages. After all, the military threat to the USSR from the United States and NATO will practically disappear. Only a few minor peripheral threats will remain from sources of tension in the "third world." Stability and security will improve by several orders of magnitude.

We can confidently say that the East European countries, and also the neutral and nonaligned states, and most of all Japan, would not wish to remain isolated in these circumstances. Within a brief historical time scale, the military-political alliance of NATO could dissolve into the CSCE, having become its principal security structure. As a result, the dilemma of the "Europeanization of NATO" or the "Atlanticization of Europe" would be simultaneously resolved in favor of the former option.

Today the road to a European civilization and hence to a world civilization is open to us. Whether we like it or not, it lies through NATO. It may be that this is the only door leading to it. It is up to us to make use of this unique historical opportunity by throwing off the ideological and emotional accretions of the past.

Stance on Cyprus Issue Remains Unchanging

PM0808091991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the general heading "Statements By USSR Foreign Ministry Spokesman"]

[Text] The debate on possible ways of settling the Cypriot problem has livened up of late. Greece and Turkey are airing ideas on this, and the Cyprus Government itself is vigorously setting out its own position. U.S. President G. Bush recently advocated stepping up the quest for a solution through talks under the auspices of the UN secretary general.

It is well known that, back in 1974, the Soviet Union suggested an international conference on Cyprus within the UN framework. The intervening years have shown that the preservation of the present situation will not produce a stable solution. It is necessary to think about a compromise acceptable to all parties within the framework of a single, federative Cypriot state in line with UN resolutions. In this respect the USSR's stance backing the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus is consistent and unchanging.

The prevailing situation attests to the advisability of everyone's giving vigorous backing to the UN secretary general's efforts. We also favor vigorous cooperation within the Security Council framework, above all among its permanent members. In order to be successful an international conference or meeting on Cyprus must, of course, be well prepared both in terms of bringing the sides' positions closer on the fundamental aspects of a settlement and in terms of the possible participants.

The enlivened interest in an international conference on Cyprus offers new opportunities in the quest for joint solutions that would please all Cypriots—Greeks and Turks, strengthen Cypriot statehood, and, in the broader context, promote the peaceful coexistence of the peoples in this part of the Mediterranean.

U.S. Organizations Sponsor Economics Meeting

OW0708005791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1500 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The international meeting "Federalism, Economics and Environment" is being held in Moscow on August 6 in the Centre of Foreign Trade [CFT]. It is organized by the Council of Ministers of Russia with the assistance of the U.S. governmental organizations—the Centre for Democracy, the FERF (Financial Executive Research Foundation) Fund and and the Federalist Society.

There will be a press conference on the results of that meeting for Soviet and foreign journalists on August 9 at 11:00 in the CFT (entrance 3, room 802).

International Enterprise Conference Opens in Kiev

LD0708202791 Moscow TASS in English 1954 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By Sergey Bibik]

[Text] An international conference that opened here today is devoted to the development of small business and development of ties of Ukrainian enterprises with foreign partners. The conference is attended by members of the Ukrainian Government, managers of more than 300 medium and small enterprises, as well as representatives of Austria, Hungary, Egypt, Italy and Poland.

"A large number of problems has accumulated in small business", said Yuriy Yekhanurov, chairman of the board of the Ukraine's union of small enterprises. "The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers is now drafting a programme to develop enterprise on which we pin much hope. When the conference concludes, we shall refer our proposals to the Ukrainian Government".

Valeriy Kravchenko, the Ukrainian minister of external economic relations, told the conference about the activity of this ministry which was set up recently. "The purpose of our entire work is to ensure further democratisation of foreign economic processes and to help the republic's enterprises to establish cooperation with foreign partners".

North Korea, Syria Invite Children for Treatment

LD0708142691 Moscow TASS in English 1349 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—Responding to an appeal from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Soviet and Russian Peace Funds, the Korean Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has invited to North Korea 50 school children from Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian regions affected by the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident.

The Soviet kids will undergo a month-long course of treatment involving Oriental techniques. A similar group of Soviet children visited North Korea last year.

The Syrian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has also invited 30 Soviet children to spend holidays and undergo treatment in Syria.

Both sides bear all expenses.

United States & Canada

Observer Questions Interpretation of Bush Remarks

LD0608185991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 6 Aug 91

[By international observer Yevgeniy Babenko]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Aug (TASS)— At a White House briefing, Marlin Fitzwater, the U.S. President's press secretary, had this to say about one of the results of the Moscow summit: "We have already agreed to lift a considerable quantity of the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom] restrictions. We do not expect to be able to do more at the present time."

Let's set another quotation alongside that one: "The security considerations by which the existence of the Cocom lists is justified have lost their meaning". That is from the Soviet leader's speech at the dinner in honor of George Bush.

True, obstacles that have to be removed do exist on the road to dynamic cooperation between our countries. The whole point of the rejoinder in question is not to confirm "we cannot do more." As I understand it, what is required is not "more" but an understanding of the fact that movement has to take place on both sides. This is, in essence, what was stated at the summit.

As stated by Vladimir Shcherbakov, first deputy prime minister of the USSR, at the summit in Moscow: "Mutual understanding was reached that, in the existing situation, Cocom restrictions with regard to the USSR are not justified".

If one continues quoting, one should note the following statement, too: "We are willing to cooperate with you in the matter of the reform of your economic system by means of the normalization of bilateral links, the expansion of our trade relations, and specific measures in support of the market reforms in different industries."

This was stated by George Bush in Moscow on 30 July.

One would not like to think that the brain "headquarters" of the White House has started to give a different interpretation to the words of its chief just one week later.

U.S. Senate Debates Pentagon Appropriations

PM0708150591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 91 Union Edition p 6

[Report by A. Blinov: "Debates Over ABM System. Senate Discusses Pentagon Budget"]

[Text] Washington—The Senate concluded its work before the August recess with an intense debate. The most important part of the budget—Pentagon spending—for the next fiscal year of 1992 was being discussed. The main subjects discussed were the most expensive military programs—the further construction of the B-2 strategic bomber, which incorporates antiradar stealth technology, and the funding and direction of work within the so-called SDI framework.

Both programs have a key place in the administration's budget request. Moreover, the White House hinted that the President will not hesitate to use his veto if Congress fails to approve the appropriations proposed for these purposes.

Despite this warning, the House of Representatives, which discussed the military budget first, considerably cut down the administration's request. Appropriations for "SDI" were restricted to $3.5 billion ($1.7 billion less than the administration had asked for). Congressmen also advocated that procurement of the B-2 be halted and restricted to the 15 aircraft already ordered.

As in the House of Representatives, the majority in the Senate is held by the Democratic Party. However, some of the senators representing the party—the so-called moderate Democrats—supported the Republican administration.

S. Nunn, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee and one of the main Congressional authorities on military matters, proposed legislative approval for the GPALS (Global Protection Against Limited Strikes) program. This is the most advanced and, at the same time, "down-to-earth" of SDI avenues in terms of its technical content. It envisages the deployment of basic antimissile systems on earth.

The version set out by S. Nunn (the "Nunn plan") is based on the right to develop [sozdaniye] a system of 100 interceptor missiles under the 1972 ABM Treaty. In the USSR such a system has been created [sozdana] around Moscow. In the seventies the United States had planned to deploy a similar system around strategic bases in North Dakota, but it soon wound up the project, recognizing it to be unprofitable—calculations showed that such defenses would be of no use in the event of a massive missile attack.

Nunn is now proposing that an ABM system be recreated in North Dakota. In the future it is planned to deploy 7-10 ABM systems on U.S. territory and, ultimately, to cover all 50 U.S. states with a defense system. S. Nunn notes that ground-based ABM technology already exists and will continue to be improved. The first system could be deployed in a few years' time.

GPALS could intercept a comparatively limited number of missile warheads heading for the United States. The authors of the project claim that its main role would be to prevent a limited missile strike against the United States.

Where would these missiles come from? As S. Nunn put it, citing CIA studies, by the year 2000 some 15-20 states, including "third-world" countries which are not always friendly with the United States, could have acquired missile weaponry. Some are even developing [sozdayet] nuclear weapons. For the sake of cogency, S. Nunn cites the lessons of the Gulf conflict—the largest loss of U.S. troops was caused by a single Iraqi tactical missile hitting a barracks at a time when soldiers were there.

Another role for GPALS is to prevent any damage in the event of a surprise or unpremeditated launch of a strategic missile or missiles against the United States.

S. Nunn claims that there is both a theoretical and practical possibility of an unpremeditated missile strike against the United States. In his words, this possibility has even increased under the conditions of "political instability in the USSR."

Supporters of the ABM project admit that any attempt to go beyond the single 100-interceptor system or to cover all of U.S. territory with an ABM defense is prohibited under the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty of 1972. Nor does it permit the deployment in space of sensors or ABM control systems. Bearing this in mind, S. Nunn proposes holding talks with the USSR on revising the treaty with a view to altering it to permit his plan.

A number of Democrat senators, including A. Gore, T. Harkin, P. Wellstone, J. Biden, and B. Adams, have spoken out against the "Nunn plan."

As A. Gore put it, it seems particularly inappropriate to be envisaging even limited ABM plans in the light of the fact that the USSR and the United States have just signed the first-ever strategic arms reduction treaty. Would it not be better, A. Gore said, to move in the direction of further cuts in offensive arsenals, without touching the existing ABM Treaty? This treaty is an important element in the existing arms control fabric. Revision of the treaty or a U.S. withdrawal from it could deprive the USSR of any incentive to participate in strategic arms cuts. The further process of reducing nuclear arsenals could be called into question.

Senator J. Biden called the ABM defense plan a "serious and possibly fatal obstacle to the arms control process."

Senators P. Wellstone and J. Sasser pointed out that it would be inappropriate to increase SDI funding at a time when the United States is under virtually no threat of external attack.

Despite all these objections, a bloc of moderate Democrats and conservative Republicans approved S. Nunn's proposal. The Senate has allocated $4.6 billion for fiscal 1992 for development work [razrabotka] associated with the creation of an ABM defense system. And it was stipulated that the deployment of the first limited ABM defense system should begin before 1996. At the same time, the Senate proposed that the U.S. Administration embark on talks with the USSR on revising the 1972 ABM Treaty.

The Senate even met the administration halfway on the question of the B-2 bomber, allocating funds for another four aircraft.

The versions of the military budget adopted by the Senate and the House of Representatives differ. Under these circumstances both houses of Congress should coordinate their positions. As a rule, when it comes to budget appropriations, the middle figure between the figures adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives is used. Coordination itself will take place at a conference of the two chambers following the summer recess.

U.S. Businessmen Join Academy Conference

OW0708005891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A group of American business people and researchers of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of the U.S. and Canada, have arrived in Ulan-Ude to participate in an international conference devoted to Buryatiya's development and to prospects for making foreign investments in this region.

Vice President of the Citibank (U.S.) Harry Skolnik told IF [INTERFAX] that foreign aid to Buryatiya depends on the results of our studies of the region and that agreements reached may result in opening a branch of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in Ulan-Ude.

U.S. Firm Discusses Mine Waste Recycling

PM0708140591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Businessmen also Agree to Waste"]

[Text] A meeting has been held in Perm between leaders of the oblast soviet executive committee and representatives of the Pak-Rim-Katpro [name as transliterated] corporation (United States). In the Kama region the corporation is interested primarily by the Kizelovskiy coal basin. A detailed business plan has been submitted for the oblast soviet executive committee's examination. It suggests creating a network of enterprises to extract a whole range of chemical compounds from the mine dump areas and acid mine water at present poisoning the rivers.

U.S. Firm Sets Telephone Plans in Far East

OW0608003291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2119 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Soviet Business Report]

[Text] The Soviet-American firm "Daltelecom" announced its plans to set up a wide telephone network in the Soviet Far East which could be used by about 100 thousand subscribers by as early as next year.

Several telephone exchanges are planned to be built in the region. "Daltelecom" will also use U.S. satellite links and this will be paid for in wood [as received]. The monthly subscription will be 40-60 roubles.

The founders of the Joint Venture are the Chicago firm CBI, the Soviet regional foreign business association "Sakheko" and local communication companies.

Commentary on U.S. Arms Sales to Taiwan

OW0708213991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1400 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Commentary by Nikolayev; from the "Current Events and Commentaries" program]

[Text] China has protested recent U.S. sales of antisubmarine helicopters to Taiwan. Station commentator Nikolayev has the following comment:

The deal between the United States and Taiwan stipulates that a certain company will sell 10 military helicopters to Taiwan. Three of those helicopters have already been delivered to Taiwan. Will Washington take Beijing's protest seriously? Or will it ignore the protest as it did in the past? The second scenario is very likely. Nobody in Washington seems to doubt the need to continue military cooperation with Taiwan.

Despite its conciliatory gestures toward Beijing, Taipei is still interested in buying American weapons and military technology. Speaking at a recent press conference, Chen Lian, leader of Taiwan's military authorities, stressed the need to continue to buy weapons from the United States. According to statistics compiled by THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, U.S. weapons (?sales) to Taiwan totaled $620 million last year.

U.S.-Taiwan military cooperation is not confined to direct weapons supplies. The United States is strengthening and expanding all aspects of Taiwan's military industry by providing the country with its newest military technology. For instance, a project involving the manufacturing of lightweight supersonic fighters using U.S.-supplied technology and components is progressing at full speed. As in the past, the United States is helping Taiwan train military cadres.

Washington and Beijing issued a joint communique nine years ago, in August 1982. In the communique, the United States undertook to scale down its weapons sales to Taiwan until they were eventually terminated altogether. However, U.S. weapons sales to Taiwan have not even decreased slightly.

China

PRC Chief of Staff Chi Haotian Visits USSR

Activities Reported

PM0708143191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Aug 91 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Official Visit"]

[Text] Colonel General Chi Haotian, chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army [PLA] General Staff, arrived in the Soviet Union 5 August on an official visit at the invitation of Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces and USSR first deputy defense minister.

The guest was greeted at the airport, adorned with the PRC and USSR state flags, by Army General M.A. Moiseyev and other officials. The reception party included Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the USSR, and Major General Ning Wenyan, army, navy, and air force attache to the PRC Embassy in the USSR.

An honor guard of Moscow Garrison troops was formed up on the tarmac and the two countries' national anthems were played.

Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov, USSR defense minister, met 6 August with Col. Gen. Chi Haotian, chief of the PLA General Staff, who is paying an official visit to our country. During a warm and friendly conversation the sides exchanged opinions on ways of developing comprehensive USSR-PRC cooperation and strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region.

This subject was the center of attention during Col. Gen. Chi Haotian's meetings with Army Gen. M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

Col. Gen. Chi Haotian laid wreathes at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall. On the same day the chief of the PLA General Staff visited the Military Academy of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, where he was acquainted with the organization of the academy's teaching process and its material base.

Meets Yazov, Moiseyev

CM0708173291 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4

[Text]—Colonel General Chi Haotian, chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA), who is in the USSR on an official visit, had a meeting with Marshal of the Soviet Union Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, 6 August. In a friendly conversation they discussed particular features of the world military-political situation and future Soviet-Chinese cooperation, including military cooperation, and matters relating to stability and security in the Asia-Pacific region.

Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, took part in the meeting.

Meets Yanayev

LD0708095591 Moscow TASS in English 0933 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—Soviet Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev received visiting Chief of the General Staff of the People's Liberation Army of China Chi Haotian in the Kremlin today.

The sides held a friendly talk on a wide range of issues of Soviet-Chinese relations, including military cooperation.

Chinese ambassador to the USSR Yu Hongliang attended the meeting

Haotian Praises Lenin

OW0808043991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1000 GMT 7 Aug 91

[From the "Along the Road of Friendship and Cooperation" program]

[Text] A Chinese national defense delegation headed by General Chi Haotian has already arrived in the Soviet Union for a working visit. On 6 August, Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Dmitry Yazov met with Chi Haotian. On the same day, Chi Haotian also held a work meeting with General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the general staff of the Soviet Armed Forces. Moiseyev expressed satisfaction with the visit of the high ranking military delegation from China. He said:

[Begin recording in Russian, fading into Manadarin translation] [Mosieyev] We are especially gratified that the days when the people and the armed forces of our two countries were separated are over. We have resumed our friendly and neighborly traditional ties. Neighboring countries should get along in a friendly manner, and with mutual understanding. We hold that your visit has opened a new path in the military field, and marks another step toward friendly and harmonious relations between the people of the two countries. [end recording]

In reply to our reporter's question about his impressions of the first couple of days of his visit to the Soviet Union, General Chi Haotian said:

[Begin recording] [Chi] Our visit has left us with a very good impression. We have longed to visit the Soviet Union since our youth, and today our dream has come true. We were very excited when we saw our great master, Comrade Lenin. [as heard] It was he who lit the flame of revolution, and paved the way to the future for us. Without the martyrs, there would not be the present. Therefore, we must bear in mind the teachings of Lenin. To forget the past is tantamount to a betrayal. We must remember them forever. [words indistinct] and their magnificient contributions. Thank you. [end recording]

The two leaders of the general staff of the armed forces of the two countries discussed matters concerning furthering of mutual cooperation, strengthening mutual trust in the Soviet-Chinese border areas, consolidating the security of the Far East, the Asian-Pacific region and of the whole world.

The itinerary of General Chi Haotian includes visits to an air force museum, an army farm, Volgograd, Sevastopol, Kiev, and Lenigrad.

Visits Star City

LD0708172391 Moscow TASS in English 1600 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The visiting chief of staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Colonel-General Chi Haotian, today toured the Star City outside Moscow, the venue of the cosmonaut training centre. He was shown space-related equipment and briefed on cosmonaut training.

General Chi later visited a military farm and the Air Force museum in Monino outside Moscow.

Smuggling Said Flourishing on Border

PM0708132391 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 91 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Consensus on the Border"]

[Text] The Soviet-Chinese border and adjoining areas have become an active smuggling region, claims V. Butenko, chief of the USSR KGB Far Eastern Border District and one of the authors of an article published in the Khabarovsk weekly GIPOTEZA.

He notes in particular that the massive illegal fishing operation in the Amur and Ussuri Rivers is being accompanied by a flood of private and public property—metals, fuels, lubricants, construction materials, electrical equipment, and food are exchanged for Chinese vodka.

The deals are often accompanied by fighting, thieving, and thuggery. As an example, V. Butenko cites an incident when 30 Chinese in eight motor boats landed near the village of Leninskoye and "kidnapped" a local resident in retaliation for an armed attack on Chinese territory by a Soviet citizen.

Many Soviet citizens enter China illegally on "excursions" or for "martial arts training."

CPSU's Falin Receives PRC Ambassador

PM0508162191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 2 August, V.M. Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR. The discussion focused on the results of the July plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and certain questions of the development of the current situation.

Northeast Asia

Japan's Watanabe Interviewed on Bilateral Trade

LD0708144891 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By correspondents Vyacheslav Bantin and Vasiliy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo August 7 TASS—Michio Watanabe, one of the most authoritative leaders of Japan's ruling Liberal-Democratic Party and a contender to the post of the country's prime minister, called for granting an express 350-million-dollar loan to the USSR to pay part of the USSR's outstanding debts.

This measure is meant to settle the present crisis in bilateral commerce by allotting to the USSR extra time to pay off credits received by it. "I think that this is a good plan that will enable our economic relations to get off to a new start," Watanabe said in a TASS interview.

Watanabe has just returned from a tour of the Soviet Far East, where he met local managers and representatives of the military command.

Watanabe said that during these contacts he sensed that the USSR was interested in Japanese credits and technology.

"In the Soviet Union, many people think that Japanese companies are dreaming to put up capital in the USSR and the country's government hampers them in every way. Things stand differently, however. Our authorities simply do not help private business here rather than obstruct it, leaving to it an opportunity to act at its own risk," Watanabe noted.

He thinks that the absence of trust in the Soviet side, which violated its obligations on more than one occasion in the past and did not pay under trade contracts is more likely to hamper operations by Japanese business in the USSR. Watanabe believes that the absence of a clear delineation of powers between the Union and, say, regional authorities is also an inhibitor. He said the rights of individual enterprises were also unclear.

If this question is solved, matters in bilateral economic ties will move forward at once, he believes.

Watanabe thinks that none of the international programmes for aid to the Soviet Union will be a success if Japan does not take part in it because other states simply do not have free funds for this.

Japanese Trawler Caught Poaching Squid, Cod

LD0608182291 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 6 Aug 91

[By correspondent Valeriy Golovnin]

[Text] Tokyo August 6 TASS—Japanese fishing trawler Nissin Maru will remain under arrest in its registry port of Hachinohe until the end of the year. The trawler was caught in May at unauthorised fishing for squids and Pacific cod within the 200-mile economic zone of the USSR.

After the illegal catches had been confiscated, the vessel with a displacement of 279 tonnes was released by the Soviet authorities and returned in June to Hachinohe port on the northeastern extremity of the Honshu Island.

Representatives of Japan's Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries investigated the incident and established that the ship had been poaching. Nissin Company which owns the trawler is prohibited to use the ship for 187 days.

TASS learned from the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries that ten Japanese trawlers were similarly punished last year. But apparently such punishments do not put a stop to Japanese poaching in the Soviet economic zone. According to the Japanese press, it is widespread and systematic.

New Institute for Relations With Far East

LD0708081591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0600 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] The Soviet Far Eastern Institute for Entrepreneurship has been set up by the USSR scientific-industrial group and similar associations of China, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan. It aims to facilitate the development of economic ties and the setting up of joint commercial structures. It was agreed that at first there will be an exchange of delegations, which will acquaint themselves with the economic situation and specific features of the commerce of the Institute of Entrepreneurship membercountries.

ROK-PRC Relations 'Not a Distant Event'

SK0708091591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1100 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] In another meeting scheduled to be held in mid-August in Beijing between the delegations of the two countries, the ROK and China are expected to discuss the signing of bilateral economic agreements.

Talks on trade agreements, investment guarantees, and an agreement on preventing double taxation have been held for months, according to station commentator Mikhail Popov. The developing trade and economic ties make it necessary to lay the legal basis for economic cooperation at this stage. Trade volume between the two countries last year exceeded $3.5 billion.

However, no diplomatic relations have been established between the two countries. Although, the ROK regards normalization of its relations with China as an important task in its foreign policy, Seoul has been trying to be understanding about China's attitude: China is not in a hurry to exchange ambassadors between the two countries. The traditionally close relations between China and Pyongyang is cited as one reason.

Pyongyang's reaction to Seoul's successes in northern diplomacy has been unhealthy. Nevertheless, PRC-ROK relations are developing successfully, particularly in economy, culture, and sports.

Given this fact, the active political [word indistinct] between the two countries, as well as the affirmative changes occurring in the situation on the Korean Peninsula, the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and ROK is not a distant event.

I think that Pyongyang understands this. Pyongyang has begun to demonstrate more pragmatism in coping with the recent changes, while reacting to them on an equal footing. Evidence of this can be found in the DPRK's statement on its decision to apply for UN membership and its reopening of talks with the International Atomic Energy Agency on the inspection of nuclear facilities in North Korea.

Meanwhile, many observers believe that it was China's influence that has led North Korea to take these steps. Beijing has not allowed such an assessment to become the focus of public attention.

At any rate, China is interested in stabilizing the situation on the Korean Peninsula and has been making efforts to develop the relations between South and North Korea. When it comes to relations with other countries, Beijing acts according to its own interests. This is true of its relations with Seoul.

The two countries seem to have reached an agreement on developing their mutual relations. A spokesman for the ROK Foreign Ministry recently stated that the ROK will not try to hasten diplomatic relations with China. The spokesman added: However, our desire is to take one step at a time toward (?improving our relations) within the framework of working cooperation.

Beijing seems to be of the same opinion on this. Issues such as expanding working relations will be discussed at the August meeting.

DPRK Plans Economic Zone in Tianjin

SK0708123491 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 5 Aug 91

[From the "Various Aspects of Cooperation" program]

[Text] The DPRK is going to establish a special economic zone in Tianjin harbor, located near the boundary between the USSR and the PRC. Pyongyang is to invite ROK businessmen to the project.

ROK businessmen have been cooperating with the USSR in establishing the free market economic zone in the Nakhadka port of the Far East.

Near East & South Asia

Israeli Relations To Coincide With Peace Talks

LD0708154791 Moscow TASS in English 1529 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The moment when diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel are restored is nearing, but the final decision on the issue can only be taken in the context of unfolding negotiations on a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman has said.

"I believe that both developments should generally coincide in time," he added.

The spokesman made the comment in connection with recent remarks by Israeli Government officials on the possibility of the Soviet Union restoring diplomatic relations with Israel before a peace conference on the Middle East.

PLO's 'Amr Says Israel Seeks To Destroy Peace

LD0708185791 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1400 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text]) A news conference was held recently for Soviet and foreign journalists in Moscow at the embassy of the state of Palestine. Our correspondent Alek Nikolayev attended this conference which the Palestinian Ambassador Nabil 'Amr held on the development of the Palstine situation in light of the [proposed] peace conference on the Middle East which will convene in October.

[Begin 'Amr Recording] [word indistinct] as the process is now moving actively in the Palestinian circle, if the term is appropriate, be it with respect to content or place. As for the content, intensive talks are taking place about the Palestinian position, the formula of the Palestinian participation in the peace conference, the issue of Jerusalem, the settlements, etc. As for the place, you know that Secretary Baker is operating in the Arab Maghreb region which is the present headquarters for the PLO leadership. There is no doubt that Secretary Baker's visit which ended yesterday, or today as I think, has scope for expanding the operational field when it comes to the Middle East issue. Of course, we are living the period which followed the historic fixing of the date of the peace conference which was issued from here, from Moscow. All of us considered the fixing of the date as an advanced qualitative step forward on the road of the peace process.

Of course, this advanced qualitative step does not at all nullify the existence of serious obstacles which have started to appear and whose negative influence is increasing on the possibilities of achieving peace. It has become clear that all these obstacles are created by Israel which is following a systematic approach to destroy the possibilities for peace. Israel is demanding the right to form the Palestinian delegation. This is an unprecedented occurrence in history. Israel demands and puts pressure. It even lays down conditions that Jerusalem be removed from the talks agenda as an issue or in representation. Israel considers settlement in the occupied territories as its natural right which it will not stop, neither now, nor during the peace conference. In view of this, we cannot consider Israel's consent in principle to attend the peace conference as being a serious consent, or as being an indicator of cooperation for achieving peace.

As for us in the PLO, you know that we addressed a letter from President Yasir 'Arafat to the Moscow summit through President M. Gorbachev. This letter included a confirmation of the PLO's decision to cooperate with the joint American-Soviet efforts for starting the peace process in the Middle East. In addition, we raised a number of issues or specific subjects in this letter which we are requesting the Soviet Union to respond to. That would be an important factor in determining our final position on the process (?itself). That is, we expect Soviet answers to the questions we submitted, and it is expected that these answers will be coordinated with the American side. Of course, the contacts between us and our friends here in Moscow are regular, and are not being broken. These are within the context of the joint Palestinian-Soviet committee, and within other frameworks. Therefore, we are certain that the Soviet reply to our questions will come very soon, and it will be precise as we have always been accustomed to from the Soviet side. [end recording]

Commentary Notes Israel's Approach to Peace

LD0708133991 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pogodin]

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir of Israel has warned that he will stage a walk-out at a planned peace conference on the Middle East if Syria decides to press for the return of the Golan Heights to it. This region was occupied by Israel during the 1967 war and in 1981 was proclaimed unilaterally part of Israeli territory. Aleksandr Pogodin comments:

This approach arouses both bewilderment and concern. Just recently Yitzhaq Shamir declared officially that Israel was for the convocation of a peace conference. The United States Secretary of State James Baker assessed this step on 6th August as a big gain testifying to peace efforts of Israel which had been seeking negotiations with its Arab neighbors for 40 years.

But the Israeli authorities seem to have a very peculiar understanding of peace and negotiations. After all, the very notion of negotiations imply the desire to carry out a dialogue and be ready to make concessions in order to work out mutually acceptable decisions.

Syria, for example, was guided by this principle, when it had for many years refused to recognize the existence of the state of Israel and consequently conduct any negotiations with it. Now Syria has changed its position and has declared that it is ready to attend a peace conference. Syria's changed position has become a decisive factor helping to bring the attainment of a Middle East settlement nearer.

(?It) should be logical to expect Israel to demonstrate a similar realistic approach. The Israeli prime minister, however, who has put forward a series of preconditions for his participation in the conference, refuses to act in keeping with the rules of logic. It is hard to say now what has more weight—his official consent to the holding of the conference or his decisive refusal to carry out a constructive dialogue.

All this not only casts doubts on the Israeli authorities' real intentions but also arouses grave concern about the future of a political settlement in the Middle East.

Israeli Rejects PLO Leadership at Conference

OW0808050591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By Petr Vasilyev, diplomatic correspondent; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "We are interested in setting up a group of the Palestinians and the Jordanians and if they like they may speak in the negotiations jointly", said the Israeli General Consul in Moscow Arichi Levin in his talk with a "DP" correspondnet.

At the same time the Israeli diplomat said explaining his government's policy that there will be no negotiations at all if any people from the PLO are present in the confernece. Israel regards those people as terrorists who have carried out the policy of terrorist organizations regarding Israel for a long time. "Such a delegation is unacceptable to us."

Answering the question whether there will be different approaches to the PLO's representatives or to their participation is absolutely rejected by Israel, A. Levin said: "We are not going to provide any selections. We have said very firmly and very frankly that if any people from the PLO, I mean the known people, take part in the conference we will have to ignore it."

The Israeli General Consul greeted either "the great way", covered by the USA and the USSR jontly as the mutual efforts of both countries to convene and conduct a peaceful conference. "Much has been done from the things that may be done," he said.

According to his information another visit of the U.S. State Secretary J. Baker to Israel is scheduled for the end of August—the beginning of September. He should go there after examining and analysing the materials collected in the course of his recently completed visit to several countries in the region.

In addition to this, according to Arich Levin a group of American diplomats has come to Israel for co-ordinating common approaches and working out a joint document reflecting the positions of the USA and Israel on the process of peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

The Israeli diplomat was very careful in estimating the new Syrian position. He said that we should be convinced of the fact "whether Syria has given up its former hard demands."

"We may see a certain change in the Syrian position so far, he stressed, which found expression in Syria's readiness to conduct negotiations with Israel on a mutual basis and in its readiness to have a meeting with our delegation on peaceful agreement."

Though A. Levin described that readiness as a "great change" and said that they could not manage to persuade Syria to be ready for this earlier he also warned of overestimating the Syrian position: "We do not consider so far that Syria is ready to accept the peaceful agreement as the beginning of our mutual life in the region."

Arich Levin mentioned that the Israeli government voted for Baker's proposal to conduct the first stage of a peace conference—the October meeting (the place shall be determined). After this, the negotiations between all the countries involved, including the two superpowers the USA and the USSR, should be started.

"After the consent of our government there are no difficulties on the way to hold that meeting except the single but serious one—the Palestinians' participation in it, he stressed, but we hope to solve that problem in the result of rather wide contacts in the very near future."

Dzasokhov Receives Israeli Consul at Kremlin

TA0808053191 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 0405 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Excerpts] A limousine flying an Israeli flag was allowed through the Kremlin's gates yesterday, an unprecedented event since 1967. For the first time since Israel and the USSR resumed consular relations, an Israeli diplomat was officially invited to the Kremlin. Arye Levin, Israel's consul general in Moscow, conferred with Aleksandr Dzasokhov, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet's International Affairs Committee, at the Kremlin. Our correspondent Mikha'el Karpin reports from Moscow:

[Begin Karpin recording] [passage omitted] The talk was good, Levin said. Dzasokhov told him that it will not take long before bilateral ties are upgraded to full-fledged diplomatic relations. Dzasokhov and Levin agreed on cooperation on the parliamentary level between the Supreme Soviet's International Affairs Committee and the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee, which brings us to the conclusion that very soon we will probably see Knesset Member Eliyahu Ben-Elisar here. [end recording]

Andreyev Comments on Hostage Developments

NC0808110291 Moscow in Persian to Iran 7 Aug GMT 7 Aug 91

[Commentary by Yuriy Andreyev]

[Text] Dear listeners, the Islamic Jihad in Lebanon has announced that it will dispatch a special emissary on a mission connected with the release of the 12 Western hostages within the next 48 hours.

The Islamic Jihad statement, which was released on 6 August in Beirut in Arabic and English, proposed that talks be held with UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar over the fate of the 12 Western hostages held in Lebanon. No details or conditions for the talks were divulged, but Islamic Jihad promised it would clarify its initiative within the next 48 hours by dispatching a special emissary to Geneva [as heard].

This development was accompanied by the publication of a report in an Iranian newspaper that two of the hostages may be released this week. Perez de Cuellar is reported to have expressed his willingness to receive the Lebanese group's emissary and to do everything possible to solve the hostage issue.

The UN secretary general believes this development could mark the beginning of a solution to this crucial issue. Observers stress that the Islamic Jihad is a shadowy group and the identities of its members are not known. There can be no doubt that most of the Western hostages are being held by the pro-Iranian Hizballah, and experts believe it is possible that Hizballah uses the name of Islamic Jihad for certain tactical reasons, to give itself room to maneuver and prevent any harm from befalling it should complications arise.

It is difficult to predict what the group's mission to the United Nations will achieve. In the past, Islamic extremists have usually put forward a set of conditions for releasing the hostages, conditions which are difficult to fulfill. This time, however, we may see an exception to the rule, as we know that on principle Western countries and the international community refuse to negotiate with kidnappers.

Any sign of progress in securing the hostages' release can only be welcomed. Everyone today realizes that hostage taking is the worst form of banditry used to try to solve problems, but a wide gap remains between this understanding and actual deeds. We should not, therefore, speculate and must what to see what happens on Thursday.

CPSU Delegation Visits Lebanon

LD0808084791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By correspondent Dmitriy Zelenin]

[Text] Beirut, 7 August (TASS)—A delegation of the CPSU, headed by V.L. Musatov, first deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, has been here from the 31 July to 7 August at the invitation of the Lebanese Communist Party. The delegation was received by Lebanese President I. al-Hirawi, the speaker of the country's parliament K. al-Husayni, and Prime Minister U. Karami. Talks were held with the Lebanese Communist Party leadership, the Progressive Socialist Party, the Syrian Social National Party, the Ba'th Party, the Kata'ib Party, and ministers and deputies of the Lebanese parliament.

During the course of the meetings and conversations there was a committed exchange of opinions on the state of and prospects for Soviet-Lebanese relations and the possibilities for settling the crisis in the Near East. The representatives of the CPSU expressed solidarity with the efforts of the Lebanese people to achieve national accord and the freedom of the south of the country by means of implementing Resolution 425 of the UN Security Council.

Deputy Foreign Minister Receives Iranian Official

LD0608184291 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—First Deputy Soviet Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy on Tuesday received Mojtab Mir Mendi, deputy Iranian foreign minister for parliamentary and consular affairs to discuss bilateral relaitons.

He is the head of the Iranian delegation at the Soviet-Iranian consultations on consular issues in Moscow.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Nikolayenko Travels to Kenya, South Africa

Agenda For Visit Cited

LD0708180791 Moscow TASS in English 1743 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By special correspondent Sergei Kulik]

[Text] Pretoria August 7 TASS—Deputy Foreign Minister V.D. Nikolayenko, the highest-ranking Soviet official to visit South Africa in post-war years, arrived in Pretoria today. The prime aim of his visit is to meet African National Congress (ANC) President Nelson Mandela. As instructed by President Mikhail Gorbachev, Nikolayenko will confirm the Soviet invitation to Mandela to visit the USSR.

Nikolayenko is also to meet members of the South African government, among them Foreign Minister Roelof Botha, with whom he will discuss a wide range of issues, including the situation in the south of Africa.

During an impromptu news conference at the airport, Nikolayenko reiterated the Soviet leadership's support for the political settlement in South Africa and declared Soviet readiness to help this process.

"The Soviet Union takes a positive view of both the South African Government's steps to dismantle apartheid and the ANC's constructive policies towards national reconciliation, and hopes for the success of the negotiating process in South Africa," he said.

Meets Kenyan Foreign Minister

LD0708093191 Moscow TASS in English 0925 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By correspondent Vladimir Manvelov]

[Text] Nairobi August 7 TASS—Kenyan Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Wilson Ayah on Tuesday received visiting Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister V.D. Nikolayenko.

Nikolayenko informed the Kenyan minister about the main results of the Soviet-U.S. summit talks, mindful of their importance to solving problems faced by developing countries.

In discussing Soviet-Kenyan cooperation, emphasis was put on the development of the political dialogue and the expansion of trade and economic ties. Both sides showed interest in deepening Soviet-Kenyan interaction in achieving a political settlement to conflicts in Africa.

Further on Meeting

LD0708224191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1108 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By Correspondent Vladimir Manvelov]

[Text] Nairobi, 7 Aug (TASS)—Wilson Ayah, the Kenyan minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation, received V.D. Nikolayenko, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, here on Tuesday.

During the course of the conversation the Kenyan Minister was briefed about the main results of the Soviet-American summit talks, including those that have significance for solving the problems of the developing countries. During a discussion of questions of Soviet-Kenyan cooperation, emphasis was placed on the development of a political dialogue and expanding trade and economic ties. Both sides showed an interest in deepening interaction between the USSR and Kenya in the matter of a political settlement to regional conflicts in Africa.

The Soviet representative also visited the headquarters of the UN Environment Programme [UNEP], which is located in Nairobi. In the conversation with the UNEP leadership, questions of the preparations for the 1992 UN conference on the environment and development and the UNEP's assistance in eliminating the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster and in preparing and implementing the program for the Aral Sea and other joint projects were discussed. The special significance in current conditions of the Soviet proposal to set up a center for urgent ecological assistance was emphasized.

Visits South Africa

LD0708164391 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Valeriy Nikolayenko arrived in South Africa on Wednesday for a five-day visit, the Foreign Ministry said.

A spokesman said Nikolayenko, the highest ranking Soviet official to visit South Africa since 1956, would meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha and leaders of the African National Congress on Thursday. He declined to discuss the Soviet minister's agenda.

Moscow and Pretoria renewed low-level diplomatic ties in July after more than 30 years of hostility, and it it believed Nikolayenko's visit will pave the way for the resumption of full diplomatic ties.

Far-reaching political reforms in the Soviet Union and South Africa led last November to the first official Soviet trade visit since Pretoria shut the Soviet Embassy in 1956.

The head of the Soviet (?interest) section in South Africa, (Aleksey Makarov), has said that sanctions against South Africa will be lifted once political change in the country becomes irreversible.

Commentary Views Effects of 'Inkathagate'

91UF1038A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 First Edition p 5

[Commentary by correspondent Igor Tarutin: "'Inkathagate' in the African Expanse"]

[Text] Harare, 31 July—**The scandal of the Inkatha Group being financed from the secret funds of the South African Government has already been dubbed "Inkathagate" in the local press. It is indeed no less painful for South Africa than the notorious—in its time—"Irangate" had been for the United States. It is unlikely that the matter will go as far as the resignation of the president, but even Frederik de Klerk had to admit that confidence in the authorities "has been shaken and needs to be restored."**

For this purpose, the head of the government has reshuffled his cabinet. He has removed Minister of Defense Magnus Malan and Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok. They did remain in the cabinet, but received second-rank portfolios. A special commission has been appointed to audit the use of all existing secret accounts. In addition, the president promised to revise the legislation that permits their existence. All illegal help to political parties and organizations has been stopped. I do not think, however, that these steps will quickly cool down the passions, but at least the work on putting out the fire caused by the explosion of exposes has started.

That is why the president's decision met with the approval of the left-wing forces. Liberal white circles characterized it as courageous. The African National Congress [ANC] called it a step in the right direction, although it did express some reservations. At the same time, the right wing of the white community declared that the head of the country had capitulated to the ANC and had made excessive concessions.

Pretoria still has, however, to assess the damage the incident caused abroad. In some instances, negative consequences are being felt right away. After the United States, Western Europe, and Japan had partially relaxed the sanctions against South Africa, the latter obviously had hopes that they would be lifted entirely in the near future. Now, it seems, this will have to wait.

In any case, in the U.S. Congress, the lobby advocating a continuing boycott has received a substantial boost in their arguments. Especially painful for South Africa will be the so-called Gramm Amendment that closes South African access to loans and credits from the IMF. Being in a precarious economic situation, South Africa counted very much on this help, especially in light of the fact that President Bush had promised to consider this issue. Now everything is suspended in the air.

At the same time, bright prospects for private capital influx have dimmed, too. Big business had been approaching investment in South Africa very cautiously. It had been turned off by the instability in the country. This attitude started to change gradually. And now, again, there is food for old suspicions.

Outside in the Western world, things are not going smooth, either. There were, for instance, persistent rumors that the EEC countries were almost ready to decide on relaxing the isolation of Pretoria. It was expected that at their meeting in London several countries would come up with this proposal. Instead, they declared that they would wait until the "Inkathagate" circumstances became more clear.

A similar situation also developed at the meeting of OAU's special committee on southern Africa. There was also talk that some movement on the issue of sanctions was expected there. In the end, however, the committee spoke against relaxing the sanctions, although before the incident a number of countries had spoken in favor of gradually moving away from the previous positions.

Thus, the South African leaders have things to think about and to find out the validity of the saying that "what is secret always comes out." Hopefully, they will learn the bitter lesson. At the same time, I would like to quote, in conclusion, the OAU chairman, Nigerian President I. Babangida, who said that this scandal should not be permitted to bring about further racial polarization in the South Africa. He said: "If this happens, everything that has been achieved so far will be destroyed. We should not let it happen. Our goal is to ensure continuing progress, not to let it get paralyzed." Hopefully, this wise opinion will be heard.

Commentary Views Mandela Tour, Inkathagate

MB0808090291 Moscow Radio Moscow in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Commentary by Aleksandr Fedorov—read by announcer]

[Text] The president of the African National Congress, ANC, Mr. Nelson Mandela, has completed a visit to Latin America, during which he visited Jamaica, Cuba, Venezuela, Mexico and Brazil.

Aleksandr Fedorov comments on the importance of the ANC leader's recently completed visit in relation to the composition of South Africa's constitutional problems.

Mr. Mandela was warmly welcomed in all the countries he had visited. This did not come about merely as a result of the natural temperament of Latin America's inhabitants. The communities of these countries have always offered its full support to the ANC in its struggle against apartheid in South Africa. The predicament in which the country's black population is placed is an issue close to the hearts of the South American communities because for decades they had to withstand pressure from outside in order to gain control of their own countries.

Aleksandr Fedorov further says that the aim of Mr. Mandela's visit was not only to thank these people for their sympathy and solidarity, nor was this visit specifically aimed at discussing the situation in South Africa following the first steps to dismantle apartheid: The leader of the ANC called on the heads of government of the Latin American countries not to lift economic sanctions against Pretoria until the reforms in the country are indeed irreversible.

In an interview with the JORNAL DO BRASIL Mr. Mandela emphasized: The withdrawal of sanctions and other forms of pressure on the apartheid regime by the West, was premature. We hope that these countries will reconsider their decisions.

Aleksandr Fedorov doubts that the West will comply but says that developments in South Africa will definitely affect the decisions taken by the Latin American countries. The outcome of Mr. Mandela's overseas visit is of special importance for the ANC at this time, now that its proposal for a multiparty peace conference is at stake. The organization is experiencing pressure from both the right and the left. The rightwing is of the opinion that the government has made too many concessions by shifting Ministers Vlok and Malan to less important cabinet posts. The ANC has however been calling for their dismissal for a long time. The leftwing movements are insisting that the ANC discontinue negotiations with the government. They believe that the government is not complying with ANC requests.

During his Latin American tour Mr. Mandela displayed a realistic approach to the most important issues. Fedorov believes that this has had a positive effect concerning ties with both the rightwing and the leftwing on the eve of the conference. As fate would have it, Mr. Mandela's tour coincided with the Inkathagate scandal in South Africa. The ANC's opponents could see that the National Party has a hidden agenda. Many people in South Africa could finally see Inkatha's true colors. They could also see that the party's popularity depended on state subsidies.

Fedorov says that it is not difficult to see who really supports the interest of the black population and who is undermining their interests. He further says that Inkathagate will definitely influence the decision on sanctions taken by the countries visited by Mandela, especially now that dialogue has to be resumed.

CPSU Jubilee Greetings to S. African Party

PM0408135391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 91 Second Edition p 5

[CPSU Central Committee Secretariat message to South African Communist Party Central Committee on 70th anniversary; date not given]

[Text] To the South African Communist Party [SACP] Communist Party

Dear Comrades!

We cordially congratulate you on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the SACP.

The SACP has behind it decades of fighting the apartheid regime in alliance with the African National Congress, fighting to build a new democratic society where every person would enjoy equal rights and freedoms.

The CPSU values highly its relations of friendship with the SACP and expresses the hope that they will be further strengthened.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat.

South African Diamond Firm Sets Up Contacts

PM0208081991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 91 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Without Middlemen"]

[Text] Windhoek, 23 Jul—For the first time after many years of isolation the South African "Anglo-American Corporation," the world's largest producer of gold and platinum, has established direct contacts with the Soviet side, which will make it possible to do business in future without paying for the services of middlemen.

This was announced in an interview with the Windhoek newspaper ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG by the corporation's 83-year-old head, Harry Oppenheimer.

The restoration of the direct contacts which, he said, existed "from the moment the first diamond was mined in Russia" promises both sides considerable advantages and became possible because of "changes in the situation in the USSR and the Republic of South Africa." H. Oppenheimer declined to answer the question of whether it was possible that a Soviet-South African cartel might be created to mine and process mineral raw material, diamonds, and precious metals with the participation of De Beers, the daughter company of the "Anglo-American Corporation."

'Impecunious' Fishermen in Nigeria Bailed Out

LD0508132591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0645 GMT 5 Aug 91

[By correspondent Nikolay Shartse]

[Excerpt] Lagos, Aug 4 (TASS) The dramatic odyssey in Nigeria of 70 impecunious Soviet fishermen is drawing to an end. Aid has come from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic association of the fishing industry which has taken upon itself to pay the costs of bringing the fishermen home. Vasiliy Yezlovetskiy, a Rosrybkhoz representative, has arrived to help the crews stranded in the port of Lagos without any means. [passage omitted]

Plight of Seamen Noted

91UF1035A Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Jul 91 p 3

[TASS report followed by commentary by TRUD correspondent A. Kozlov: "Death of a Soviet Fisherman in Nigeria"]

[Text] Lagos, 29 July—The perils of Soviet fishermen who found themselves in Nigeria because of some pseudo-entrepreneurs have taken a tragic turn. Chief engineer Ye.I. Moshin died last Sunday in Lagos. He worked on a receiving and carrying refrigerator ship belonging to the fishing kolkhoz Imeni Khvalyun in Taman. The preliminary diagnosis was intestinal amebiasis. Together with 66 of his comrades he spent 122 days in the port of the Nigerian capital, anticipating the moment when the Moscow joint-stock company Soves would resume financing and decide on their future. This is the company that contracted them and sent them to fish in the Gulf of Guinea. During all this time, while they lived under the harsh conditions of a hot and humid climate, the Soviet fishermen had to watch their money and tried to make a day's portion of food last three days. As the promised medical care was lacking, they started to succumb to tropical diseases. Seamen come down with malaria and dysentery especially often.

As early as 31 March the Soviet fishermen sent their first joint complaint against Soves though the Soviet consulate in Lagos: "We have not been paid our wages for two months... We have not yet had any vacation as stated in the contract." Behind them they had a most taxing trip in their small boats from Novorossiysk to Lagos, without any port calls. Senior engineer Ye.I. Moshin was among those who signed.

* * *

TRUD COMMENTARY: Our newspaper learned from V. Zyryanov, chairman of the USSR Fish Industry Workers Union Central Committee, that no tragedy in Lagos would have taken place had the Krasnodarryba kolkhoz leaders heeded the demands of the trade union. The union recommended that no contract with the Soves company be signed without it specifying social protection for the people. But it is only natural that economic independence, transformed into an obsession to earn money by any means, brought about such tragic results. Moreover, when the leaders of five fishing kolkhozes signed this contract they basically removed their people from the protection of our trade union. The terms of the contract are such that our trade union central committee still has no right to interfere into what is happening now in the Nigerian port. But we insist nevertheless that the fishermen be immediately sent to the Soviet Union so that the tragedy does not become even worse. The trade union central committee requires an immediate investigation of the events.

Is it possible for an international organization such as the Red Cross Society to step in to prevent the deaths of more fishermen?

Trade Union Sends Help

91UF1035B Moscow TRUD in Russian 31 Jul 91 p 1

[Article by A. Kozlov: "The Moshchnyy Tugboat Is Hurrying to Lagos"]

[Text] **The tragedy of the Soviet fishermen in the Nigerian port is continuing.**

The USSR Fish Industry Workers Union Central Committee and the Krasnodarryba cooperative and state association have appealed to the Soviet ambassador in Nigeria with a request for objective information on the plight of the Soviet fishermen in Lagos. The seamen have been stranded there without food, drinking water, medical care, or money through the fault of the Soves company.

According to N. Uskov, chairman of the Krasnodar Kray union committee, Krasnodarryba gave V. Kolesnikov, chairman of the fishing kolkhoz Imeni Khvalyun, who is now in Lagos, the power and the hard currency enabling him to take urgent measures to provide the necessary medical help to the sick fishermen and organize their transportation back home. The Moshchnyy tugboat that was operating in the Atlantic Ocean has been rerouted to Lagos and will accompany the seine-fishing boats to their home port.

The ships should start back on 7 or 8 August.

Ship Owners Blamed

91UF1035C Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Aug 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by G. Charodeyev: "An SOS Signal from Lagos"]

[Text] **According to information agencies the perils of the Soviet fishermen who found themselves on the African coast through the fault of incompetent organizations and their officials have taken a tragic turn.**

We learned that senior engineer Yevgeniy Moshin died a few days ago of intestinal amebiasis in Lagos, the capital of Nigeria. He worked on the receiving and carrying refrigerator ship belonging to a Taman fishing kolkhoz. According to USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry data the lives of five more Soviet fishermen are in danger....

Our IZVESTIYA correspondent asked Professor K. Bekyashev, an expert in international law, to comment on the situation in the Gulf of Guinea:

"For several weeks already six Black Sea boats belonging to the Rodina, Chernomorets, imeni Lenin, and imeni Khvalyun kolkhozes have been standing idle in the Lagos port. The worst thing is that these Soviet people who are in trouble can expect no help from any quarter. State organizations have nothing to do with them, and the Soves joint-stock company based in Moscow, which sent the fishermen to the African coast, left them to their fate. As specified in their contract with this organization the boats left Novorossiysk on 22 February and arrived in Lagos on 23 March. Since that time they spent only 11 days fishing, as Soves did nothing to provide fuel for the boats. The seamen got no wages for all this time. The boats are moored board to board in violation of safety regulations, but there is no money to pay for the pier."

Everything was organized in such a way that the whole thing was doomed to failure. For instance, only after they arrived in Lagos did the fishermen discover that they could fish no closer than 30 miles from the coast. Meanwhile, the equipment of the boats is meant for fishing in the rather shallow waters of a 12-mile zone. With no money for fuel or port calls for refueling, the boats simply could not move away from shore. But Soves, which hired them, just turned away. It might be possible to sell the boats at giveaway prices and buy air tickets to Moscow for the crew members. But that would be a violation of the law, as the boats belong to kolkhozes and only their owners can dispose of them. The only realistic future our fishermen can expect is debtors' prison in hot Lagos. It would require over $200,000 to retrieve the crews and the boats. But where can one get that sum?

In K. Bekyashev's opinion, the Soviet boat owners, the kolkhoz leaders, also bear direct blame for the situation. It was their responsibility to research the fishing, navigational, and hydrographic situation on the Nigerian coast. None other than the ship owner must thoroughly examine all the specifics of the maritime law in any given country.

The emergency situation on the Nigerian coast should become the subject of a very detailed investigation by the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, the expert thinks. The USSR government holds the ministry responsible for ensuring the safety of human lives at sea and on board ships wherever they might be. It will not hurt the ministry to be reminded of its rights and obligations with respect to the defense of our country's honor and dignity.

According to new information the manager of Soves, K. Filippov, has now arrived in Lagos. But he cannot resolve all the problems either. The local authorities continue to detain the ships in the Nigerian port. The boats, together with the fishermen, remain hostages of Bim Fishers [as transliterated] because of the debts. (Among other things, this Nigerian firm undertook responsibility for providing fishing licenses and all regulation papers for the boats.) The situation is growing worse every day. The Soviet fishermen in distress do not have the money even to pay Aeroflot to carry the body of their dead comrade home.

Luchinskiy Meets Ugandan Deputy Premier

LD0108050391 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Moscow July 31 TASS—Piotr Luchinskiy, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, today met Eriya Kategaya, national commissioner of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) and first deputy prime minister of Uganda.

Kategaya described NRM activities aimed at ensuring stability and peace in the country, economic development and the formation of a law-governed state.

Luchinskiy spoke of the results of the July (1991) plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, the concluding phase of the work on a new union treaty, and problems of the country's youth movement.

Some matters concerning the development of Third World countries, African ones, in particualr, as well as prospects for cooperation between the CPSU and the NRM were touched upon during the conversation.

The meeting was held in a warm and comradely atmosphere.

Semyonova Meets Ugandan Deputy Premier

LD0208041991 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 1 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 1 TASS—Member of the Soviet Communist Party Politburo and Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Galina Semyonova met a delegation of the Uganda National Resistance Movement led by Movement National Commissar and First Deputy Prime Minister Eriya Kategaya.

During the friendly meeting, the delegation was informed on the current social and political situation in the Soviet Union.

At their request, the special attention was devoted to the women's movement and activities of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee's Commission on Women and Family Issues.

Envoy Signs Joint Ivory Coast Air Link Agreement

LD0108015491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1306 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] Accra, 31 Jul (TASS)—An agreement on opening the air ling between the USSR and the West African Republic of the Ivory Coast was signed today in Abidjan, the Ivory Coast's economic capital. This is the first intergovernmental agreement between the two countries after restoring diplomatic relations in 1986. A. Coulibaly, minister of equipment, transportation, and tourism, signed for the Ivory Coast, while M.V. Mayorov, USSR ambassador to the Ivory Coast, signed for the Soviet side.

East Europe

New Treaty With Bulgaria Based on Paris Charter

OW0808041091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By Mikhail Mayorov, diplomatic correspondent; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" (DP) feature; following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A new Soviet-Bulgarian treaty will be in accordance with the spirit of the Paris Charter for New Europe and in this way it will be similar to the agreements already reached between the USSR and Italy, France, Germany and some other European countries. Such was the information received by an "DP" [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent in the Third European Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. There it was mentioned that the Bulgarian supreme legislative body—the great people's meeting—decided unanimously to denounce the former treaty on friendship, cooperation and mutual help, which was concluded in 1967. But the treaty will expire only on August 4,1992 so that both sides avoid "a period without a treaty" and can use the time to prepare and conclude a new treaty.

The Soviet draft mainly resembles the Bulgarian one.

The foreign ministries of the USSR and Bulgaria exchanged their new draft agreements in February-March of this year. While preparing its own draft, the Soviet side "used 80 percent of the items which the Bulgarian side's draft contained, including the formulations on so-called "military articles", said one of the officials of the Soviet Foreign ministry's Third European Department. Though both foreign political bodies have already started practical work on the documents, no joint meetings on "coordinating the opinions" have been conducted so far.

The problem which should be solved by the Bulgarians themselves.

The Soviet Union takes into account the discussion developed in Bulgaria over the "military articles" of a new treaty. The Soviet Union considers that only the Bulgarians themselves are competent to solve the problems of their national security. As stated in the Soviet Foreign Ministry it depends upon the Bulgarians, whether or not a new treaty should contain "military articles." As far as the Soviet side is concerned it is ready to accept any Bulgarian proposals which could guarantee its complete and unconditional sovereignty and help Bulgaria to overcome the acquired syndrome of having its national interests infringed upon,-assured Soviet officials.

In particular, the Bulgarian side contributed this item to the first version of the intergovernmental treaty: "that no country concluding this agreement should provide its territory in a case of possible agression to a third country". If this and some other formulations are preserved finally (which the Soviet side presently does not object to) the military articles which are the most debatable for the Bulgarians will be in accordance with the spirit of similar articles in the agreements concluded by the USSR with Italy, France, Germany and some other European countries.

What is the perspective of Soviet-Bulgarian relations?

Taking into account the elections which are scheduled for this fall in Bulgaria they admit in Soviet diplomatic circles that there might be some difficulties in preparing a new treaty. But regardless of the opinions expressed in Bulgaria today, any party which comes to power in this country after all will have to solve for itself the problem of future relations with the USSR. As far as the USSR is concerned the Soviet Foreign Ministry sees no other principles of future cooperation with Bulgaria except those which the all-European process is based on.

Bulgarian Socialist Lilov Views Party Prospects

*91UF1037A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5*

[Report on interview with Aleksandr Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, by PRAVDA correspondent L. Kuznetsov in Sofia; date not given: "Entering the Second Century"]

[Text] *The present Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) emerged as the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party 100 years ago. At that time, more precisely, on 2 August 1891, a constituent congress was held on the initiative of D. Blagoev at the summit of Mt. Buzludzha, its participants—representatives from various areas of Bulgaria—deciding to form the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party—a party which proclaimed service of the working people as its main purpose.*

"With what feelings are you greeting the party's centenary" was the question put to Aleksandr Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, by L. Kuznetsov, PRAVDA correspondent in Sofia.

"As a Bulgarian and as a man, I greet the party's jubilee with profound emotion. I am a member of the BSP, and its centenary affects all aspects of my private and public life. As a politician, I greet this anniversary with profound historical optimism because the mere fact of a whole century says a great deal. Primarily that our party has deep roots in our history and in the depths of the spiritual world of the Bulgarian people. This testifies both to the fact that it is needed by our society today and that it is supported in our time by very broad strata of society and that the party itself is today also performing a very important mission. It is for this reason that it has been in existence for 100 years. I can see no other explanation. How many parties can boast that they are starting their second century? How can one not be proud of being a member of the BSP!"

Following such an answer it was difficult, naturally, to refrain from putting other questions. Primarily: What was the BSP's attitude toward Bulgaria's spiritual heritage—party and national?

"I would say," my partner began, "that our party is now treating its spiritual heritage more responsibly and in more complex fashion than before. Great and very valuable experience—theoretical, political, organizational, social—has been accumulated in 100 years. It needs to be rethought; it is necessary to use all that is most valuable for our party's further renewal today. For its development as a party of modern socialism. But there are difficulties here also. The centennial path has not only been ascent, it has been a very complex and, at times, contradictory path. There have been big successes, but there have been failures too. There are very illustrious pages, but mistakes also. Even in the present period important processes which are in need of in-depth analysis are under way. For this reason we wish, as a revolutionary of the past said, to take from our history the flame of pure hearts. It is necessary for the party's further development. We view the centenary of experience as a source of the party's renewal. It is necessary to plug in other sources also. For example, the experience that has been accumulated as a whole by our and the international workers movement and the experience of other forces of the left of past and present. We are not about to celebrate the centenary as a museum activity. We are commemorating the anniversary as a party on the move and experiencing very profound changes in accordance with the new realities and problems and with regard for the processes occurring in the modern world."

[Kuznetsov] In this case the following question suggests itself: the role of the BSP under today's difficult rapidly changing conditions.

[Lilov] This is a very serious and difficult problem. First and foremost, the BSP bears tremendous responsibility. Profound radical changes, which are to lead to the conversion of society into a civilized, modern, and democratic society, are now taking place in Bulgaria. The situation in the country is complex, difficult, at times. For this reason our party is displaying concern primarily for the preservation of civic peace. We want these reforms (economic, political, ecological) to be implemented rapidly on the paths of peaceful transition. In the Balkans such processes sometimes assume brutal forms, and for this reason we are giving pride of place to the assurance in our country of civic peace. Yes, the role of the BSP in the country's democratization is increasing very considerably. The process of democratic reforms began in the fall of 1989 on the initiative of our party. Everyone knows this. And we want the party's role in this area to grow. We are for this reason pursuing a policy of dialogue with the other parties. A policy of free democratic elections. A policy of pluralism and the creation of democratic institutions, an example of which is the adoption of a new constitution for Bulgaria. It is a great achievement. At the same time the BSP proceeds from the following: Economic reform should be conducted radically and should at the same time have a substantiated basis in order that it protect the socially needy strata. We are a party of the working people, after all. So the party's role is not diminishing one bit under the dynamically changing conditions of Bulgaria today. At last year's parliamentary elections the people cast a majority vote for our party. I hope that at the impending new elections the BSP will be able to persuade the people that its platform and its alternative of Bulgaria's development is the most realistic and the best platform put to the nation's judgment.

[Kuznetsov] What can be said about the pluralism, factions, and at the same time unity in the party ranks?

[Lilov] Our party is changing. The most important thing, I believe, that will help it continue as a party is a consciousness of the need for changes in society and in the BSP itself. A principal feature of renewal is pluralism within the party itself. We allow the existence of various ideological currents, whose representatives have different viewpoints on the question of the kind of party we should have under current conditions. We believe that the existence of currents is not a weakness of our party. They afford an opportunity for the formulation of various development alternatives, and this, in turn, is a generator of ideas of national development. Progress at this stage is impossible without this. The most important thing is preserving the party's political and organizational unity and capacity for operating as a political organism. We are not frightened in the least by the existence of different ideological currents. The main slogan now, which unites all of us, is renewal and unity. Both processes should proceed alongside, not impeding one another.[end Lilov]

Forces of the right have become more assertive in Bulgaria of late. Does this not disturb the BSP leadership? Comrade A. Lilov smiles and says:

[Lilov] I believe that the pressure of forces of the right is a normal phenomenon in Bulgaria's political life today. Inasmuch as our society is characterized by a multiparty system, forces of the right will, of course, subsequently also attack the forces of the left, among which our party occupies the main position. But we should not only not fear this, we should firmly pursue our own policy and defend our alternative of society's development. I, of course, am worried more about whether we will be able to formulate the best alternatives in various spheres of our life, whether our policy corresponds to a solution of the country's most acute problems, and whether we are developing the process of renewal in the party itself at a pace and with a depth of content that corresponds to society's requirements and the party's conversion into one that is capable of participating in government under conditions of democracy. I am concerned lest we prove late in reaching the level of the tasks confronting the nation and us. Take such problems as the youth and the intelligentsia. Some important representatives of the intelligentsia have quit the party, this is a fact. But in terms of how we progress we may hope that the youth and the intelligentsia will turn more to us for they must clearly see that our alternative to society's development is better and more progressive than the alternative of the right.

[Kuznetsov] Bulgaria is preparing for new parliamentary elections—the aims, tasks, hopes, and platform of the BSP?

[Lilov] It should be said unequivocally that we are having elections to win the people's trust and obtain their vote of confidence. It is important that we win the elections. We hope that people will understand our platform and believe it. The most characteristic feature of our platform is not general handsome political slogans. It is an attempt to respond to the most acute problems of Bulgarian society today, the problems of 1991 and the next two or three years.[end Lilov]

I was interested in this connection in knowing my partner's opinion of the speeches of certain theoreticians who believe that socialism is outmoded for everyone, the socialists included. This is what the leader of the BSP replied:

[Lilov] A fundamental question. I have to say that our party remains true to the socialist idea and socialist values. They appeared on Bulgaria's political stage to lead people to the struggle for realization of the goals and programs contained in it. Our party's existence makes no sense outside of socialist ideas. So we will never forswear socialism as the basis of our party and as the goal of political existence and action. Of course, we are expanding and deepening the very idea of socialism and want to find an answer to the question of what the socialism of the future is, what the socialism of the past was, as ideas and as aspirations to put them into practice. We already know the results of the past. We must draw conclusions and derive benefits from this historical experience.[end Lilov]

The interview was coming to a close. At the request of PRAVDA readers I conveyed congratulations to members of the BSP on the centenary. In response the chairman of the BSP Supreme Council said:

[Lilov] I thank you sincerely for the congratulations. I would like to say to the readers of PRAVDA that the members of our party, Bulgaria's socialists, and the Bulgarian people also, continue just as sincerely and profoundly to love the Soviet, Russian people and harbor a feeling of gratitude for the sacrifices they made in liberating Bulgarians from the Ottoman yoke and fascism. We will continue to do everything to develop relations between Bulgarians and the Soviet Union. I believe in the future of our relations. We will struggle together with our Soviet comrades to ensure that the ideas concerning socialism and the struggle for socialism be at the level of the modern world. I welcome the restructuring in the USSR. I am sure that this is the way of the future.

Dzasokhov, Bohemian-Moravian CP's Svoboda Confer

*PM0708154191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 6 August A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received J. Svoboda, chairman of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

During their conversation, which was held in a comradely atmosphere, A.S. Dzasokhov briefed J. Svoboda at the latter's request on the results of the CPSU Central Committee July Plenum, the basic provisions of the draft new party Program, and the processes of democratization of sociopolitical life in the USSR. The guest showed special interest in questions connected with the Union Treaty and the principles of the renewed Soviet federation.

There was also an exchange of opinions on certain questions concerning international relations.

West Europe

Finnish Prime Minister Aho Visits USSR, Karelia

Discusses Cooperation With Pavlov

LD0708172491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1930 GMT 6 Aug 91

[By special correspondent Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] Kostomuksha, 7 Aug (TASS)—Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov devoted the second day of his stay in the Karelian Republic (the Northwest of Russia) virtually enirely to the problems of reviving business ties with Finland, which, as he has already admitted, "have been running into serious obstacles" recently. The USSR's economic difficulties have led to a reduction in the number of contacts which for many years were increasing.

The Soviet premier conversed for almost four hours with the head of the Finnish Government Esko Aho, who arrived at the former's invitation in the Karelian town of Kostomuksha, which, by the way, together with the large mining and concentrating combine,was built with the active cooperation of Finnish firms some 13 years ago.

As Aho himself stated after the meeting, he wants to get an even clearer idea of the role of Finnish-Soviet cooperation in the conditions of the USSR's political and economic renewal, and the conversation with Valentin Pavlov provided clear answers to all questions.

Representatives of the Finnish media put quite a number of questions to the Soviet premier on his Cabinet's approach to bilateral business contacts. "First," said Pavlov, "we will be striving for cooperation which we consider important bearing in mind the whole range of interests both of the separate republics, notably Karelia, and of the whole Union". He called this approach a concrete example of the realization of the new political system in the USSR.

The Soviet premier noted that in the very near future a new mechanism of that cooperation will be created which will be appropriate to the period of transition. He said the content and organization of the work of the Soviet-Finnish commission on commercial and economic cooperation. The USSR is preparing to make appropriate changes to its tax law and its practice of taxing trade turnover in border contacts.

As additional reserves to be tapped, Valentin Pavlov mentioned the commercialization of a number of ecological problems. Thanks to this, he explained, it will be possible to utilize new commodity resources and made a substantial contribution to mutual goods exchange.

Valentin Pavlov said that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has made a decision which will allow Soviet enterprises to arrange barter deals with Finnish firms.

Taking part in the dialogue were Viktor Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet, and Sergey Blinnikov, head of government of that republic,

In the afternoon the Finnish Prime Minister returned home.

Further on Meeting

LD0708113291 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1000 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Prime Minister Esko Aho and Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov are concluding their first meeting in Kostomuksha. In the unofficial talks the prime ministers are dealing with the prospects of trade between Finland and the Soviet Union and the increase in economic cooperation between the countries. In addition to Pavlov, representatives of the highest leadership of Soviet Karelia are taking part in the talks. Aho will return to Helsinki early this evening.

Discussions Continue

LD0708213991 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1500 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Trade with the Soviet Union is to be stimulated through goods exchange deals between enterprises. Soviet Premier Valentin Pavlov confirmed in Kostamus today that barter deals can be resumed again. Economic relations were the main topics during Premier Esko Aho's brief visit to the Soviet Union. Over to our reporter in Kajaani, Haari Vaenskae:

[Begin recording] [Vaenskae] Aho's first visit as premier to the Soviet Union took place at a difficult time. The traditional good trade relations have been put to a severe test following the abandonment of the clearing system, and trade exchange is slow on the new currency basis. Some kind of new revival is being sought in new barter deals, which are also permitted by the new union treaty of the Soviet Union. Aho assures that he is satisfied with this news.

[Aho] I consider the decision of the Soviet side concerning the realization of offset deals, or barter trade, a very significant matter, if it is now implemented in practice. This would make it possible to maintain the level of trade, which has dropped very low, higher than where it is heading at present. I consider this an important matter. Another positive thing is that the Russian Federation and other republics and regions will also be participating in the work of the [Finnish-Soviet Economic Cooperation] commission; this will make it possible for the new internal soviet decision-making system to insure that our trade will function. And the third thing

I would like to emphasize is that, for the future development of trade it is of decisive importance now how the Finnish enterprises succeed in finding cooperation partners with whom it will be possible to develop trade and economic cooperation. In this sense I consider the results of the visit very significant.

[Vaenskae] The new Soviet Union treaty indeed changes the traditional forms of trade. The republics and their enterprises will now in focus instead of the old Moscow. Finland, too, is preparing for direct relations with the Russian Federation soon.

[Aho] WE must now first see what the Union treaty means in practice, what will be the exact division of labor between the center and the republics, but in any case it seems clear that everything we agree with center, the same must also be agreed with the republics, and in that sense these negotiations will be very important for the development of trade. The questions we have discussed here will be discussed again in the negotiations we have when the Russian Federation delegation arrives.

[Vaenskae] Aho's brief visit to Kostamus did not really bring anything significant and really new in the trade with the Soviet Union which is undergoing great changes. The solution of the problems of Soviet trade will still need a lot of time, and learning new ways of trading on both sides will also take time.

Money and credit granting are also problematic. There is a difference between the neighbors on the use of the framework credit 1.5 billion markka [Fmk] granted by Finland in the summer. Finland granted the credit for the completion of the deliveries dating back to the clearing system period. Now, however, it has surprisingly emerged that the incomplete projects totalled only Fmk600 million, in other words, only half of what was assumed originally. Now there is a difference over how much Finnish credit the Soviet Union will receive. Whether the figure will be Fmk600 million or Fmk1.5 billion—that will be discussed during the autumn in the economic commission and at meetings between officials. [end recording]

News Conference Held With Pavlov

LD0708204291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] As we have already reported, a working meeting between USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov—who is in the Karelian Soviet Socialist Republic—and Finland's Prime Minister Esko Aho took place today in Kostomuksha near the Soviet-Finnish border. They conducted an informal exchange of views on current Soviet-Finnish cooperation and its adaptation to the new realities in the Soviet Union in the light of the accords reached at the meeting between the presidents of the two neighboring countries which took place at the end of June. The meeting passed off in a spirit of openness, trust, and mutual understanding. To conclude the meeting the prime ministers held a joint news conference.

[Begin recording] [Aho in Finnish with superimposed Russian translation/report by announcer] Esko Aho stressed that Soviet- Finnish relations are not burdened by any political problems which enables the participants in the meeting to fully concentrate on vitally important questions of bilateral cooperation.

[Pavlov] A whole range of questions of a purely practical nature were discussed from the point of view of determining the search for new goods which could be included in the sphere of Soviet-Finnish interests. We also discussed questions of imparting to ecological interests such a—I would say—simultaneously commercial nature which could be used in the form of commodity resources, in the form of a contribution to the goods turnover. We discussed the question of cooperation in organizing new communication systems via telephone links, via the throughput system. [end recording]

[Video shows Aho next to limousine walking along the road toward Pavlov who is shown walking toward Aho. The two meet and shake hands. They are then shown sitting next to each other and then standing next to each other holding the news conference]

USSR Satisfies German Information Request

LD0708175891 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—German representatives today made an appraisal of information about armed forces and plans for deploying basic weapons systems and hardware in the 37th Armour Regiment of the 19th Guards Armour Division of the 7th Armour Army in the Belorussian Military District.

A Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told TASS that the German Government had made a request for such an appraisal, in keeping with the Vienna 1990 document on confidence- and security-building in Europe, and that the request had been satisfied.

German BND Ready To Cooperate With KGB

LD0608182191 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 6 Aug 91

[By correspondent Aleksandr Semenov]

[Text] Bonn August 6 TASS—The West German federal intelligence service does not rule out a possibility of cooperation with the Soviet State Security Committee, intelligence service Vice-President Paul Muenstermann said.

The German intelligence could cooperate with their Soviet colleagues in combating international terrorism and drug trafficking, Muenstermann told the DPA news agency.

The interest of the Soviet security service in such interaction with similar Western organisations has been growing more evident, he said.

According to DPA, Chairman of the Soviet State Security Committee Vladimir Kryuchkov for the first time put forward a proposal to organise regular exchanges of information with Western secret services in a Moscow interview with the West German SAT 1 private TV company.

Muenstermann said that the West German federal intelligence service has not so far received an official proposal of the sort from Moscow. If such proposal is made, it will be "attentively studied and analysed".

Stolpe Favors Renewing Economic Ties With Russia

AU0508091791 Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 3-4 Aug 91 p 1

[NZ/DPA report: "Stolpe Advocates Renewal of Trade Cooperation With Russia"]

[Text] Moscow—Brandenburg Minister-President Manfred Stolpe (Social Democratic Party of Germany) believes that it is possible to reactivate the economic relations that were agreed upon between the Brandenburg region of the former GDR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Following talks with RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin's staff members in Moscow on 2 August, Stolpe said that what he had in mind was the Moscow area with its 16 million inhabitants. He added that the possibilities of the existing credit line have not been fully used.

Dzasokhov, Yanayev Receive Hans Modrow

PM0708141591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 5 August A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with H. Modrow, honorary chairman of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism].

During the talks there was an exchange of information about the two parties' urgent tasks at the contemporary stage of social development in the USSR and the FRG. In connection with the preparation by the CPSU and the PDS of their new programs the interlocutors touched on some questions concerning the parties' theoretical work.

The talks were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

On 5 August USSR Vice President G.I. Yanayev received H. Modrow, FRG Bundestag deputy and PDS honorary chairman.

Talks were held, in which some aspects of Soviet-German relations were examined.

Cooperation With Greece To Broaden

LD0708124791 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The Soviet Government has instructed the finance and foreign ministries to expedite the signing of an intergovernmental agreement with Greece on the mutual encouragement and protection of investments and submit it to parliament by next month for ratification.

The move is in line with accords on trade and economic cooperation that were reached during the official visit by Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to the Soviet Union between July 22-25.

The Cabinet's resolution, containing the instructions, was published here today.

It suggested that interested organisations make a cost-effectiveness analysis of possible Soviet participation in the joint capital of an alumina factory under construction in Greece with Soviet assistance.

In addition, the resolution instructed the State Committee on Science and Technology to finalise a two-year programme for bilateral cooperation and sign it on the Cabinet's behalf by next November.

The government instructed the subordinate committee for assistance to small business and enterprise to conduct negotiations with the Greek side on possibilities to broaden contacts with private Greek firms to develop new forms of cooperation on the territories of the two countries.

As requested by the Greek side, a Soviet delegation will go to Greece in the middle of next October to take part in talks on bilateral cooperation in sea shipping.

Official Urges Compromise on Cyprus Issue

LD0708143191 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By diplomatic correspondent Konstantin Voytsekovich]

[[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The Soviet Union's position in support of Cyprus's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity is consistent and immutable, a Soviet Foreign Ministry official told TASS in connection with the recently intensified debates about possible ways of solving the Cypriot problem.

It is necessary, the Soviet official stressed, to think of compromise acceptable to all sides within the framework of a single, federative Cypriot state in accordance with U.N. resolutions.

The obtaining situation points to the advisability of an energetic support of efforts in this direction undertaken by the U.S. [as received] secretary-general, the official noted. The Soviet Union also favours vigorous interaction within the U.N. Security Council, particularly among its permanent members.

The Soviet Foreign Ministry official focused on the need for the thorough preparation for an international conference or a meeting devoted to Cyprus. This preparation should aim to bring closer the positions of the sides concerning the principal aspects of the settlement and to select possible participants in such a forum.

The enlivened interest in an international conference on Cyprus, the official said, offers new opportunities in the search for mutual solutions capable of satisfying all Cypriots, Greek and Turkish, consolidate the Cypriot statehood and, on a wider scale, facilitate peaceful coexistence of nations in this part of the Mediterranean.

Dzasokhov Meets Socialist Parties Group Head

LD0708193991 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—Politburo Member Aleksandr Dzasokhov met today Guy Spitaels, chairman of the Confederation of the European Community's Socialist Parties and leader of the Belgian Socialist (French-speaking) party. Spitaels is visiting at the invitation of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

During their friendly discussion Dzasokhov briefed him on the results of the Central Committee's recent plenum and the drafting of a new Communist Party programme.

He also described the national leadership's efforts to stabilise the political situation and overcome the social and economic crisis, stressing the significance of the forthcoming signing of a new federal treaty.

In addition, Dzasokhov and Spitaels held an indepth discussion on the present state of socialist thinking and practices.

They compared notes also on a wide range of issues concerning the political situation in Europe and the need to intensify pan-European cooperation and consolidate the Soviet Communist Party's relations with European socialist parties.

Peugeot-GAZ Joint Venture Facing Problems

PM0808081191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 91 Union Edition p 7

[Report by Yu. Kovalenko: "Project's Funding in Doubt: Will We See Peugeots on Our Roads?"]

[Text] Paris—Talks between the French automobile firm Peugeot, one of Europe's leading firms, and the Soviet GAZ [Gorkiy Motor Vehicle Plant] Production Association have been continuing for approximately two years. If they end successfully, production of the excellent Peugeot-605 sedan will begin in our country.

During this time specialists from the two countries repeatedly exchanged visits and made a comprehensive study of their mutual possibilities and their strong and weak points. As a result, business relations between them became friendly relations. This helped to make all the calculations in the very best way and to prepare a feasibility study of the project.

After this a protocol between Peugeot and GAZ was signed, and then extended. A site was chosen on which to construct an assembly plant in Bogorodsk, some 40 km from Nizhniy Novgorod. Several Peugeot-605 automobiles underwent reliability trials on our roads. Finally, French experts had a number of meetings with high-ranking representatives of the Soviet military-industrial complex, whose preliminary results appeared very promising.

After long discussions it was decided to reduce the originally planned figure for annual production of the Peugeot-605 in Bogorodsk by a factor of three, from 150,000 to 50,000.

However, the question of setting up a Soviet-French joint venture to produce these fine vehicles, which are among the best in the world today, has still not been resolved. They develop a speed of up to 200 km per hour, have four cylinders and an 80-liter (!) gas tank, and consume just 6.3 liters of fuel per 100 km at 90 km per hour. (It must be pointed out that GAZ has plumped for the cheapest—or least expensive—Peugeot model, which costs approximately 130,000 French francs [Fr], whereas the price of the most expensive model is twice as high).

The joint venture has not been set up because it has not been possible to resolve the fundamental problem—finding a source of finance for this project, which requires approximately Fr5 billion.

The Soviet side does not have such funds. Therefore, in its search for a subsidy, the Peugeot firm turned to the recently founded EBRD [European Bank for Reconstruction and Development], which has received a mandate to assist East European countries and the Soviet Union. But the EBRD refused, on the grounds that it is geared to funding infrastructures, including roads, not to producing consumer goods, among which they count motor vehicles. Under the EBRD statutes the credits on which our country can reckon during the first years are severely limited.

After this the Peugeot firm approached other potential partners which have the possibility of earning currency in the Soviet Union by extracting oil. These include, in particular, two consortiums—one French and one American. But here, as the firm explained to me, a new difficulty arose—the problem of guarantees.

"Private French and foreign banks," Philippe Madi [surname as transliterated], leader of this project, told me, "demand firm guarantees from the Soviet state. Unfortunately, the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, which could provide them, refuses..."

Such an interesting project, so it turns out, has ended up in an impasse? The two-year talks, contacts, meetings, visits, and so on have all come to nothing?

"No, we remain optimistic," P. Madi, who had just returned from his latest trip to the Soviet Union, went on. "And we believe that what is impossible today will be possible tomorrow."

While waiting for these fundamental changes, which will make it possible to overcome the deadlock, GAZ and Peugeot are drawing up other projects. The French are studying the possibilities of equipping the Volga pickup with Peugeot engines, including diesel ones, as well as the idea of producing the crankshaft at the GAZ Plant. They are studying with the GAZ commercial service the question of opening the first Peugeot technical servicing station in the USSR.

But all this is being done, so it seemed to me, primarily as a stopgap until the main project finally starts being realized. At the same time it is proposed that our participation in the production of vehicles will initially start at approximately 7 percent, will increase gradually, and in the long term—the very remote long term—must reach 90 percent. This means that in the future we will be producing both the engines and the bodies and will not import them over thousands of kilometers from France.

"The Soviet market represents a priority target for our firm," P. Madi emphasized, "and we value our relations with GAZ extremely highly. We wish to work with precisely this association as regards building the assembly plant, and we reject the numerous other proposals put to us both by the center and by various republics."

For the time being the Peugeot management retains its optimism and its faith in the prospects for cooperation with GAZ. However, the firm, of course, cannot endlessly seek sources of investment and guarantees from the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. GAZ representatives are again coming to Paris at the beginning of September to familiarize themselves with the test results of the Peugeot-605 on Soviet routes. But, however successful these results may prove to be, they will not resolve the problem of funding. In this case, people in Paris believe, it can be resolved only at a high interstate level. If this does not happen, we will never see Peugeot-605's on our roads.

Latin America & Caribbean

Foreign Ministry on Relations With Cuba

OW0508045391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 2 Aug 91

["Diplomatic Panorama" Article: "USSR-Cuba: Military Cooperation Grows Less, But in Economic Sphere the Both countries Are "Doomed" To Cooperation"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The military cooperation lessens in Soviet Cuban relations," the Chairman of the Information Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Vitaliy Churkin said answering one of the "damned" questions which was often asked on the eve and in the course of the Soviet-American summit. According to the diplomat, "though much more was said about that problem in public than in private talks", "and there is nothing new on that problem", he explained that the USSR continues its close relations with Cuba in spite of the objections expressed by the American side in the Moscow summit. As far as military cooperation is concerned it lessens and it will depend on the relations of other countries with Cuba.

V. Churkin also said that we would welcome U.S. steps towards arranging dialogue with Havana. Here in Moscow we are satisfied that such exchange of opinions is conducted from time to time. "We also exchange our opinions with Cuban representatives on these numerous problems, "concluded the Chairman of the Information Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Even before the summit there were similar discussions, especially after the visit of the recently appointed Deputy Foreign minister of the USSR Valeriy Nikokaenko to the USA and Cuba, V. Churkin objected to the allegation that the USSR could act as a mediator between the USA and Cuba. "Nobody asked for us to do it," argued the diplomat.

In Spite of Stoppages the Cooperation Goes On

In the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, [MFEC] where our coorespondent asked for some additional information, they said that the USSR and Cuba were "doomed" to cooperate in the field of economics. It was determined as early as in 1972 when Cuba entered the non-existing now CMEA [Council of Mutual Economic Cooperation]. The USSR and the other countries which entered that organization in those years began to make their economic programs taking into consideration supplies of Cuban sugar.

According to the information received in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, at the present moment a third part of the sugar consumed in the USSR is processed from the raw-sugar imported from Cuba. The annual shortage of sugar in the USSR is about 4-5 million tons. And it is difficult to get such a quantity of sugar simultaneously on the world market. Under these conditions "the attachment" to the Cuban supply becomes necessary.

According to this year's contract Cuba has already supplied to the USSR 1.8 million tons of sugar that is more than a half of the planned quantity, as they also said in the Soviet MFEC. In general in spite all the efforts of the Cuban side there are shortages in carrying out the agreement. As they said in the Soviet MFEC there were two reasons for that; the first one is that the USSR failed to supply Cuba with the goods of the most importance for it. The value of the Cuban supplies to the USSR exceeds the value of Soviet exports (oil is the most part of it) to the country so far, and the second one the USSR has much difficulties in transporting the cargo by sea.

There are some difficulties because of the countries transfer to world prices in their trade. That could not but influence the volumes of value. As far as the decision on the hard currency accounts in trade since January 1 is concerned it influenced less the mutual trade than was expected because the USSR and Cuba are active in using clearing and barter trying to compensate mutual currency deficit in this way. Besides Cuba arranges cooperation both with the Soviet republics and with some enterprices which are authorized to have foreign economic relations.

Statement Hails Argentine-Brazilian Agreement

PM0608104991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 91 Moscow Evening Edition p 4

["Statement by USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] On 18 July President of the Argentine Republic C. Menem and President of the Federative Republic of Brazil F. Collor signed a bilateral agreement on the exclusively peaceful use of nuclear power. This news was greeted with approval in the Soviet Union. The Soviet side assesses the conclusion of the treaty in question as an important landmark which will promote the consolidation of the international system of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and the maintenance of regional stability on the continent.

The adopted document enshrines in law the exclusively peaceful character of the nuclear programs which the two countries are implementing, and provides for the creation of a corresponding mechanism of bilateral control. The scheme for settling the nuclear problem in Argentine-Brazilian relations could to some degree serve as a prototype for creating stabilizing structures in regions of the planet that are "hot spots" from the viewpoint of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons.

The Argentine-Brazilian accords may, given the corresponding conditions and the political will of the parties involved, in many ways facilitate the further consolidation of the status of the nuclear-free zone in Latin America, which rests on the organizationally formalized and successfully operating legal mechanism of the Tlatelolco Treaty.

The Soviet Union proceeds on the basis that the implementation of the provisions enshrined in the Argentine-Brazilian agreement will assist the inclusion of the efforts of Argentina and Brazil in the activity of states united by the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

Managua Welcomes Statement on Central America

LD0708194891 Moscow TASS in English 1825 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By correspondent Yuriy Dmitiriyev]

[Text] Managua August 7 TASS— The Nicaraguan Government on Wednesday expressed "profound satisfaction" with the joint Soviet- U.S. statement on the two powers' interaction in Central America.

In a note issued here, the Foreign Ministry said that Soviet-U.S. cooperation in Central America will make a crucial contribution to ensuring regional stability and development.

The note said that the Nicaraguan Government is considering extra measures to fulfil the package of regional accords signed in Esquipulas, Guatemala, and aiming to achieve greater democracy, the settlement of existing conflicts, national reconciliation, economic development, and disarmament.

The Foreign Ministry described the Soviet-U.S. statement as "a very significant contribution to efforts by Central America and the international community to establish peace in the region, especially a dialogue between the government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and between the government of Guatemala and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity Movement".

Jamaican Parliamentary Delegation Visits USSR

LD0708203591 Moscow TASS in English 2010 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The USSR will now develop parliamentary ties with Jamaica. The beginning to these relations was set by an official visit to Moscow by a parliamentary delegation of that Caribbean state at the invitation of the Soviet parliament.

On August 7 Jamaican MPs [members of parliament] met with Ivan Laptev, chairman of the Council of the Union. He told the guests about perestroyka, the activity of the Union parliament, the legislative acts adopted and the political and economic reforms.

The guests showed profound understanding for present-day problems. They said that Soviet people vigorously and boldly tackle tasks posed to them by history.

Jamaican MPs showed special interest in the new Union treaty which opens for signing on August 20. Head of the delegation Headley Cunningham, speaker of the House of Representatives, said the Soviet Union is turning into a parliamentary democracy and said they are glad to arrive in the USSR at this period of transition.

O.Harding, leader of the opposition in the Jamaican Senate, said that people of various races and ethnic groups in Jamaica had found the road to the harmony of interests. He expressed the hope that numerous nations in the Soviet Union will finally achieve accord and prosperity as a result of the biggest revolution, as he put it.

Expressing satisfaction with the signing of USSR-U.S. Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, members of the delegation emphasised that all countries, large and small, are called upon to contribute to the consolidation of peace and security.

PRAVDA Publishes Draft CPSU Program

PM0708182591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 91 First Edition pp 3-4

["Draft CPSU Program: Socialism, Democracy, Progress"]

[Text] Our country entered the 1990's under the sign of profound changes. Perestroyka opened up scope for a long-overdue democratic reform of all aspects of life. This process is developing in a contradictory and complex manner. The process of innovation is accompanied by sociopolitical and interethnic tension, economic crisis, and major shifts in public awareness. The Communist Party is also going through a critical phase in its development.

In these conditions an objective evaluation of the past and present is necessary, a profound interpretation of the realities of our society and the entire course of world civilization and of the prospects for socialist development. There is a need for a clear and realistic program of action and consistent progress toward a humane, just, democratic society. There is a need for radical renewal of the party itself, a new understanding of its role and place in society.

The purpose of the present program is to answer the questions of the times and serve as the ideological basis for rallying Communists and all supporters of the socialist choice. The party offers this program to all who care about the future of the fatherland, civil peace, and prosperity for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

I. Our Principles

Placing the interests of working people in the forefront, the CPSU today is the party of social progress and democratic reforms, the party of social justice and panhuman values, the party of economic, political, and spiritual freedom.

Seeking to express the people's aspirations, learning the lessons of its own history, and taking world experience into account, the CPSU will be guided in its political activity:

—by the interests of all-around social progress, ensured through reforms. The viability of this approach is demonstrated by the experience of contemporary world development. In these conditions no responsible political organization is entitled to seek the forcible restructuring of society, especially since the nuclear, ecological, and other threats greatly multiply the dangerous consequences of social cataclysms;

—by the principles of humanism and panhuman values. The all-around development of man and his harmonious interaction with nature are the main guidelines for progress in the modern world;

—by the principles of democracy and freedom in all its diverse manifestations—public and personal, economic and political, intellectual and spiritual. Freedom is indivisible from civil responsibility and inconceivable without the formation of a civil society and a rule-of-law state founded on people's power;

—by the principles of social justice. Due reward for labor and talent is an essential condition of progress in production, science, and culture. Competition, enterprise, and initiative on the part of those who create material goods and spiritual assets should be combined organically with social guarantees to citizens and special concern by society for socially vulnerable strata;

—by the principles of patriotism and internationalism. The equal development of all peoples and the renewal of the Union as a voluntary federal association of sovereign states is the basis of the motherland's might and prosperity;

—by the interests of the country's integration into the world community, the constructive interaction of all countries, and the formation of a single economic, information, and cultural space.

Our party's commitment to these principles is the result of interpretation of the path traveled and the new historical situation.

II. Lessons of History

We do not idealize the past, nor do we dissociate ourselves from it, evaluating the experience of history in all its contradictoriness.

Russian social democracy joined the political struggle early in the 20th century in an atmosphere of increasingly acute conflict in the country and the world. Our party's first program, drawn up with the key participation of Lenin and Plekhanov, was based on the inseparability of democratic and socialist tasks and the desire to lead Russia onto the path of rapid and effective socioeconomic progress.

The October Socialist Revolution was one of the great events of world history. It was a people's revolution, consonant with the interests and social impatience of the masses. The people supported the party's proposed program for delivering the country from nationwide disaster. Its program included the ending of the world war, the free transfer of land to the peasants and plants and factories to the workers, the elimination of the system of estates with its privileges, the introduction of previously unknown social protection measures, and the proclamation of national equality.

The working people sincerely believed in the possibility of rapidly creating a perfect and just socialist society, and accepted privations and sacrifices for its sake. This struggle was the meaning of life for several generations of Soviet people, for millions of Communists. In very difficult historical conditions they defended the country's integrity and independence in the years of civil war and foreign intervention, transformed it into a mighty power, made the decisive contribution to the routing of fascism, blazed a trail into space, and achieved outstanding successes in many spheres of science, technology, and culture.

The Soviet era had a very profound influence on world economic and social progress and the national liberation movement. The worldwide significance of our revolutionary experience and socioeconomic transformations is indisputable. Nobody can take that away.

But the tragedy of our society was that the task of building socialism, once begun, was utterly distorted and weighed down by mistakes, tyranny, and gross distortions of the principles of socialism and people's power.

Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP), which opened up the possibility of progress toward socialism through a mixed economy, the combination of the interests of various social strata, and the assimilation of the achievements of the most developed countries, was curtailed and discarded by the Stalinist leadership.

The mixed economy and market relations were replaced by a monopoly of state ownership and the administrative-distributive system. The principle of material incentives was replaced by leveling and depersonalization. The policy of civil peace and cooperation was replaced by an orientation toward stepping up the class struggle. Instead of the development of democratic institutions, increasingly wide use was made of the methods of coercion and repressions.

The people's creative energy was fettered by the political omnipotence of the party-state bureaucracy, intolerance of democracy and glasnost, ideological diktat, and vulgarized Marxism. In this way the choice was effectively made in favor of the totalitarian system and "barracks" socialism.

The CPSU unreservedly condemns the crimes of Stalinism, which cut short or mutilated the lives of millions of individuals and entire peoples. There can be no justification for that. Even during those years, many Communists raised their voices in protest against the policy of the leaders who had usurped power in the party and state. They were dealt with as "enemies of the people." A significant proportion of the party was physically annihilated. The tragedy of the Communists of that era is that they were unable to resist the totalitarian dictatorship that led to grave consequences for the country and the discrediting of the ideas of socialism.

Over the decades of domination of the totalitarian system, the party was largely transformed into a tool of supercentralized bureaucratic administration of society. This resulted in the bureaucratization of intraparty relations and the fusion of the party apparatus with the structures of power and administration. Opportunities for objective analysis of the process of social development and for ordinary Communists to influence the formulation of real and effective policy was reduced to a minimum.

This is a grave lesson for the party, a reminder that in no circumstances must Communists retreat from the principle of the inseparability of socialism and democracy or allow the proclaimed goals to become divorced from people's real economic and social interests.

The 20th CPSU Congress was an event in the history of the country and the party. It generated great hopes. The mass repressions were condemned, many elements of the totalitarian regime were renounced, and the quest began for new forms of economic life and the realization of social tasks.

However, these transformations, once begun, were not developed. The causes and nature of the deformations of the socialist system were not understood, and this led to gross miscalculations in defining the prospects in the third CPSU Program. Authoritarian bureaucratic methods dominated the system of power and administration. Ultimately this made it impossible to carry out profound democratic transformations in society. The desire to confine oneself to partial changes in the economy and the legal and political spheres predominated.

The situation was complicated by the fact that the cold war and rivalry with the leading Western powers in the arms race drained the economy and prevented the development of the socialist sphere. This was happening against the background of rapid progress by the industrially developed countries, which managed to join the technological revolution before us and ensure a marked increase in the population's well-being. Society lost the historical initiative and was dragged down into a protracted crisis.

The historical lesson of that period is that major social transformations should be derived from the interests of man and the pressing demands of life; it should be timely and all-embracing in nature, based on a continually developing vision of the socialist social system, and should draw on the people's living creativity. Within the party there should be permanently operating mechanisms for monitoring by the party masses of the activity of the party leadership, for countering bureaucratization of the party apparatus, for forecasting real trends in social development, and for reacting promptly to changing conditions.

The entire course of our history made perestroyka vitally necessary. On the initiative of the CPSU profound changes began in the country. Glasnost opened up the path for diversity of opinions and spiritual freedom. The political system is being reformed on democratic principles. Ownership relations are undergoing transformation. A transition is underway from a supercentralized state to a Union based on self-determination and voluntary association of peoples.

Perestroyka is also associated with the birth of new political thinking and a fundamentally new phase in the development of international relations. The path has opened up to real disarmament and the creation of universal security structures, to the ending of the cold war and greater international stability.

The CPSU will seek to ensure that the positive trends generated by perestroyka are further developed.

The process of transformations proved to be far more difficult than was at first imagined. This was due not only to the grievous legacy of the past but also to miscalculations and sluggishness in resolving urgent problems. Hesitations and compromises stemming from the desire to postpone tough, unpopular measures or to avoid them entirely only exacerbated the situation. The force of inertia and resistance to transformations was underestimated. In a situation in which the old mechanisms of administration and planning were no longer operating, but the formation of new ones was intolerably delayed, many processes took on a spontaneous nature. Economic and production links were severed, shadow structures in the economy gained strength, inflation increased, and the living standards of many strata of the population fell. Confidence in the organs of power declined, and centrifugal tendencies intensified. Major interethnic conflicts arose. No quick way out of the crisis was found. All this drove some of the working people away from the party and made them seek support in other political movements. The country's development began to take shape under the influence of relationships of conflict between various political forces, and this exacerbated the crisis phenomena.

At this critical juncture it is vitally necessary to uphold the course of profound democratic transformations of society in the interests of the working people, to act resolutely and competently, and to secure the consolidation of all progressive forces.

III. Our Immediate Goals

In defining its program for the 1990s, the party takes account of the fact that Soviet society is in a state of flux—the forms of economic and social life are changing, new political institutions are springing up, and radical changes are taking place in the social consciousness. In these conditions society's efforts should be concentrated primarily on the resolution of urgent tasks: prevention of the disintegration of the multinational union state and the integral economic organism; stabilization of the consumer market; strengthening of law and order and the rule of law. This can and should be achieved not by curtailing democracy and returning to totalitarianism, but, on the contrary, by the more vigorous and consistent implementation of the democratic reforms that have begun.

The CPSU advocates the attainment of the following goals:

In The Political System

The development of a multinational Soviet state as a truly democratic federation of sovereign republics;

the building of a rule-of-law state and the development of democratic institutions: the system of soviets as the basis of the state structure, organs of people's power and self-government, and political representation of the interests of all strata of society; separation of powers—legislative, executive, and judicial;

the safeguarding of the rights and freedoms of citizens of the USSR throughout the country's territory, bringing human rights legislation into line with international norms; respect for and protection of citizens' rights to belong to professional associations and various political parties and social movements, and renunciation of interference by state organs in the activity of social formations operating in accordance with the requirements of the constitution and legislation;

strict observance of the rule of law and of law and order; the eradication of crime, pursuit of the struggle against the shadow economy, and protection of the security of citizens and their property and of the constitutional foundations of state and social life; the eradication of legal nihilism.

In The Sphere Of National Relations

Equality of all people irrespective of nationality and domicile; equality and free development of all nations, with human rights having unconditional priority;

the peoples' right to self-determination, the assertion of national dignity, and the development of their native language and culture and popular customs and traditions;

consistent internationalism, the strengthening of the multinational community of peoples in the renewed federation of sovereign states, and the imparting of real substance to the sovereignty of republics and all forms of national autonomy;

the protection of the interests and rights of small peoples and national groups, solicitude for their traditional way of life, restoration of the rights of peoples who were subjected to repressions and deportation, and eradication of the consequences of these acts of coercion;

the normalization of national relations and settlement of interethnic conflicts on the basis of law, social dialogue, and civil and national consensus;

the prevention of forced population migrations, introduction of a legal status for refugees, and granting of necessary assistance to them;

the struggle against all manifestations of national extremism, chauvinism, racism, and discrimination between citizens on the grounds of nationality, language, place of birth, or domicile.

In The Economy

Structural perestroyka of the national economy and its reorientation toward the consumer;

the modernization of industry, construction, transportation, and communications on the basis of advanced technology, eradication of laggardness with respect to world scientific and technical standards, and the carefully thought-out conversion of military production;

the transition to a mixed economy based on diversity and equality of different forms of ownership—state, collective and private, joint-stock and cooperative. Active promotion of the development of ownership by labor collectives and priority development of forms of social ownership;

the formation of a regulated market economy as a means of stimulating growth of the efficiency of the economy, augmenting social wealth, and boosting people's prosperity. This presupposes free prices, with state subsidies to needy population groups, the implementation of an active antimonopoly policy, the normalization of the financial system, the conquering of inflation, and the attainment of ruble convertibility;

the formulation and implementation of a modern agrarian policy; free development of state, collective, and private forms of farming, ruling out all coercion with regard to the peasantry; allocation of land (including leasing with right of inheritance) to all who intend to work on it and are capable of doing so effectively; state support for the agro-industrial sector and the social development of the countryside, and equivalence and price parity in the exchange of industrial and agricultural output;

the country's all-around integration into the world economy and its wide involvement in world economic relations in the interests of the economic and social progress of Soviet society.

In the Social Sphere

The implementation of a state policy making it possible to minimize the inevitable difficulties and costs associated with overcoming the crisis in the economy and making the transition to the market;

the alignment of incomes with labor contribution and their regulation through progressive taxation and indexation; creation of equal conditions for efficient work by working people irrespective of the form of ownership;

the implementation of preventive measures against unemployment, the creation of new jobs, and the organization of personnel retraining and teaching of new professions;

protection for socially vulnerable population strata and mothers and children; improvement of the pension system;

the implementation of housing construction programs, expansion of the credit system for individual and cooperative housing construction, and introduction of housing maintenance grants for low-paid categories of the population;

development of health care, with the greatest emphasis on disease prevention and guaranteeing all citizens the opportunity for free treatment;

prevention of a slide toward ecological disaster; resolution of the problems of Baykal, the Aral Sea, and other ecological disaster zones, and the continuing elimination of the consequences of the Chernobyl accident.

In Education, Science, and Culture

The spiritual development of the people, the enhancement of every individual's level of education and culture, and the strengthening of morality, the sense of civic duty and responsibility, and patriotism;

an increase in the proportion of national income channeled into education, science, and culture; opposition to the total commercialization of spiritual activity;

the preservation of the system of free education; provision of necessary and equal conditions for boys and girls to enter life, achieve professional and cultural growth, and satisfy their spiritual needs; state support for talented young people;

the all-around development of fundamental and applied research, making it possible to realize the potential of Soviet science, and multifaceted cooperation with world science; radical reform of the organization of scientific activity; free competition among scientific schools and currents; fitting rewards for originators of discoveries, inventions, and technical improvements;

protection and enrichment of the cultural heritage of the country's peoples; freedom of creativity, combined with the moral responsibility of the artist to society; protection of citizens against the preaching of inhumane ideas, violence, and immorality;

enhancement of the social status of intellectual workers and the level of material provision for the intelligentsia—engineers, doctors, teachers, scientists, figures in literature and art, and workers at cultural institutions.

The Country's Security and Defense

The maintenance of the state's reliable defense capability; the implementation of the new military doctrine, which includes an interconnected package of defense, political, economic, and ecological measures;

the preservation and development of unified multinational USSR Armed Forces and centralized military leadership;

the reforming of the Armed Forces in accordance with the principle of defense sufficiency and the transition to forming the Army and Navy on the basis of combining a professional military service with compulsory military service; social and legal protection for servicemen, members of their families, and persons discharged from active military service into the reserve or into retirement; the possibility of alternative service;

the prevention of the creation of anticonstitutional armed formations;

the production and improvement of arms on a scale necessary to maintain troops' combat readiness to repulse any aggression against the Soviet Union; support for a policy of arms reductions in parity with the United States and other states and of the elimination of nuclear, chemical, biological, and other types of mass destruction weapons;

the strengthening of the Soviet Army's prestige and of the traditional respect for the motherland's defenders, the solicitous preservation of everything that has been achieved to strengthen security and defense, and citizens' patriotic education.

In International Politics

The development of interstate relations in accordance with the new political thinking, the formation of a reliable system of world security, and the overcoming of interstate and interethnic contradictions not by violence but through concord achieved by political means;

the strengthening of cooperation between the USSR and the sovereign republics and countries on all continents, their alliances and communities, and international organizations;

enterprising participation in the all-European process and in the development of multilateral cooperation in the Asia and Pacific region;

active participation in the activities of international organizations, above all the United Nations; the development of international cooperation in resolving the global problems facing mankind;

the development of multifaceted cooperation with foreign communist and socialist parties and other progressive public organizations and movements to pool efforts in the struggle for peace, security, and regional stability.

The party views the enumerated aims and areas of activity as an action program which is open to be supplemented and enriched as society moves forward.

As the aims outlined are realized in practice, a society of humane, democratic socialism will take shape, founded on:

—a mixed economy geared to the people's growing well-being with broad opportunities for scientific and technological progress;

—the combination of economic efficiency with the principles of social justice, distribution according to the results of labor, and citizens' social protection;

—a civil society, political and ideological pluralism, the possibility of expressing the interests of different social groups, and their cooperation;

—genuine people's power realized in the forms of representative and direct democracy, supremacy of the law, and guarantees of citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms;

—science, education, and culture geared to the ideals of humanism and to panhuman values, and universal access to their achievements.

This is how we picture the appearance of humane, democratic socialism. It is a society whose aim and center is the person free from exploitation and from all kinds of social oppression and endowed with full civil rights and with broad potential to develop and manifest his abilities and to satisfy diverse needs.

IV. Whose Interests The Party Expresses

Our party was founded as a political organization of the working class. It used to link the possibility of the revolutionary transformation of society in the interests of all the working people with the proletariat's struggle in alliance with the peasantry.

The progress of productive forces and the scientific and technical revolution made radical changes to the social structure of society. The proportion of those people employed in science and culture, technology, and production organization, education and health care, and in the sphere of administation and services has increased sharply. There is evidence of a close interweaving of the interests of the various strata of the working people.

Failure to acknowledge these fundamental changes would mean dooming the party to political isolation and defeat. It can count on the realization of its programmatic aims only by consistently expressing and upholding the interests of all working people [lyudi truda].

We are not striving to decide vital problems for the working people but we will support their valid demands and initiatives, cooperate with mass self-administering movements, and promote their political enlightenment and organization, rallying them together into a broad and diverse democratic movement for social progress.

In cooperation with the workers movement and trade unions we will uphold the interests of the workers and strive to secure: the worthy representatiopn of the working class in the organs of power at all levels, the real right of working collectives to possess the enterprises and to dispose of the results of their labor; a reliable system of social protection—especially at the stage of the transition to the market, structural changes in production and the modernization of production, and the conversion of the defense industry; the improvement of working conditions, the emancipation of women from production processes that are harmful to their health, and the consideration of the specific needs of miners, oil workers, metallurgical workers, construction workers, and other workers in basic sectors of industry, people performing heavy physical labor, and all who work in difficult conditions or who are opening up new territories or who are separated from their homes and families for lengthy periods.

Together with the organizations of rural workers, we will uphold the interests of the peasants, respecting their free choice of forms of ownership and economic activity; we will actively promote the creation of modern conditions of labor and everyday life, the development of the social infrastructure of the countryside, the self-management of the rural population, and its full representation in the organs of power; we will promote the revival of the good traditions of the peasant way of life and the development of the peasantry's spirituality.

In cooperation with creative unions and scientific and technical societies, we will defend the interests of the intelligentsia, seeking to enhance the social status and evaluation of intellectual labor; we will promote the creative questing—free from ideological and administrative diktat—by scientists, engineers and designers, and by literary and artistic figures; we will seek fitting remuneration and high social recognition for the labor of teachers and physicians, persons employed in the service of the state and in the social management sphere, servicemen, and workers in the law enforcement organs.

We are in favor of the real equality of women in all walks of life, including the management sphere. Jointly with women's organizations we will promote conditions ensuring freedom of choice for women permitting them to realize their potential in the family and in professional and social activity. The CPSU advocates the orientation of state policy toward enhancing the status of the family in society, the prestige of parenthood, and the creation of favorable economic, social, moral, and ethical conditions for the raising of children.

In collaboration with the Leninist Communist Youth League, student body, and other young people's organizations we will participate energetically in devising and implementing a broad and effective state youth policy; we will uphold in all the institutions of power and administration the interests of young workers, peasants, students and pupils, and servicemen.

We advocate the implementation of a comprehensive public and state program in the interests of people of the older generation, war and labor veterans, the guaranteeing of pensions and benefits no lower than the subsistence minimum, the expansion of social services designed to take care of their health, everyday life and labor commensurate with their abilities, and the creation in society of an atmosphere of solicitude and respect for the aged.

Together with charitable societies and foundations we will seek to secure the effective state and public protection of the most vulnerable sections of the population: children, especially those in poor families or without parents; single mothers with children; and invalids—so that they may enjoy normal living conditions and have the opportunity to make a contribution to society to the extent that they are able.

Such are our social priorities. While defending the interests of broad strata of the working people, we reject any discrimination on the grounds of social and professional affiliation. The party takes a positive attitude to useful activity based on the law and toward the business activity of private entrepreneurs.

We categorically rule out any discrimination on the grounds of nationality, firmly upholding internationalism and friendship and cooperation among the country's peoples.

We advoicate freedom of consicence for all citizens. The party treats the feelings of believers with respect. It deems inadmissible the use of religion for political ends, for kindling interethnic conflicts, philosophical intolerance, enmity and hatred between advocates of different confessions, and also between believers, agnostics, and atheists.

Our party is open to broad cooperation with all social strata and individual citizens living according to the laws of the Soviet state. In upholding broad social mutual understanding and cooperation we oppose only those who take the path of antistate and antisocial acitivity, economic crime, and corruption; those who preach racism, chauvinism, national-extremism and other antihuman ideas; and those who gamble on violent means in the political struggle. We are opposed to militant anticommunism as a form of political extremism and of the negation of democracy which is extremely dangerous for the destiny of society.

Expressing the interests of the broad working strata of society, the party will strive for the solution of the people's common tasks without which anyone's properity is impossible. In developing our statehood and implementing a democratic reformation of society and an effective foreign policy—aimed at ensuring peace and the country's integration into the world community—the party perceives a unified interest common to the whole nation and forms a basis for civic accord.

V. For a Party of Political Action

Communists are clearly aware that only a radically renewed party—a party of political action—will be able to successfully resolve the new tasks. The role of such a party in society is determined by the ability to formulate and implement a realistic policy that is close and comprehensible to the people and elicits their confidence and support. Its influence and prestige are directly dependent on the ideological unity, initiative, and activeness of the party masses and on the organization, conscious discipline, and moral stance of every Communist.

It is vitally important for the party to continuously enrich the ideological and theoretical arsenal, make a creative analysis of modern trends of social development, and abandon dogmas and stereotypes that doom us to stagnation and marking time.

The party will strive for the realization of program aims through broad propagandization of its ideas, through work in labor collectives and at places of residence, through participation in democratic elections, through its representatives on organs of power, and through cooperation with trade unions and other public organizations and movements.

The most important area of the party's renewal is its profound democratization. This presuppose the independence of the republic parties making up the CPSU and scope for initiative on the part of local and primary organizations. The unity of their political actions is founded on the devotion of all Communists to the principles of the CPSU Program and on the fulfillment of the requirements of the party Statutes and of all-party decisions. With due regard for diversity under which various party organizations work, they independently determine their operating tactics in a specific situation.

The democratization of the CPSU envisages flexible forms of its organizational structures and of permanent and temporary associations of Communists making it possible to operate efficiently and to concentrate the forces of all components of the party during the preparations for elections to organs of power and the holding of referenda and other political campaigns.

In the process of renewing the party it is necessary to create and improve permanently functioning mechanisms for analyzing Communists' opinions and their real participation in formulating and realizing decisions at all levels and in monitoring the work of leading organs. The aims of democratization will be promoted by political debates, freedom to unite around party platforms, and guarantees of minority rights.

The party member is free to choose the spheres of party activity that correspond most closely to his knowledge and abilities. He has the right to openly express his position on any question of the life of the party and of society; to participate directly in the shaping of CPSU policy, to adhere to atheist convictions or to believe. The rights of Communists are inseparable from their duties. Communists participate in the work of one of the party's organizations or pursue its political line in some other way [inym obrazom], pay membership dues, and give it material support. The party struggles for the constitutional protection of Communists' rights and interests and gives them comradely support in political, material, and moral ways. In party organizations it is necessary to maintain an atmosphere of comradeship and collectivism and of rich intellectual and spiritual life and to assist the development of the individual and the shaping of every Communist's ideological conviction.

We will welcome citizens who sympathize with the CPSU and who are ready to cooperate with it in various forms.

We reckon that our democratic aims are consonant with the sentiments and aspirations of the young generation and that they can only be achieved with its active and interested participation. The party is open to young people and their energy, questing, and creativity.

Skillful organizers who are capable of convincing political opponents, conducting polemics with them, acting independently and competently, and expressing and defending the working people's interests must be developed in the course of the party's living work among the masses. From among such Communists the CPSU will nominate candidates in elections to soviets, to leading posts in the structures of power, and also to central and local organs of the party itself. They will assert their authority not through their post but through their abilities and knowledge, their ideological conviction and moral makeup. Guarantees must be formulated within the party that its cadres will never use their posts for mercenary interests, say a single word against their conscience, or fear a hard struggle to achieve noble aims.

The party's renewal presupposes a new approach to understanding its place in society and its relations with the state and to choosing the means to achieve political ends. The party employs exclusively legitimate political methods. It will struggle for deputies' mandates in democratic elections, seeking the voters' support for its election platform and for the main areas of its policy and practical actions. Participating in the formation of organs of state power and management, it will implement its policy through them. It is ready to cooperate widely and, where the situation dictates it, to conclude alliances and coalitions with other parties and organizations in the interests of fulfilling the program of democratic transformations. In those organs of power where Communist deputies find themselves in a minority they will occupy the place of a constructive opposition, opposing any attempts to infringe the working people's interests and citizens' rights and freedoms. Cooperating with other parliamentary factions, Communist deputies will give assistance to positive undertakings stemming from other parties and movements.

While supporting their representatives in all structures of power, the party and its organizations reserve the right to openly criticize their specific decisions and actions.

The democratization of the party and the setting up of a broad public dialogue presuppose the considerable strengthening of the role of the party mass media. We advocate the high professionalism, responsibility, and objectivity of the press, radio, and television.

The CPSU is built on the devotion of its members to certain ideological values. For us the chief of these is the idea of humane, democratic socialism. While restoring and developing the initial humanist principles of the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, we include in our ideological arsenal all the wealth of our own and world socialist and democratic thought. We regard communism as the historical perspective, the social ideal founded on panhuman values, on the harmonious conjunction of progress and justice, and on the free self-realization of the individual.

Under present conditions the implementation of the socialist idea may be successfully implemented only within the mainstream of the formation of a new world civilization. Its distinguishing features are already emerging: the priority of democracy, the organic inclusion of science into production, ecologically clean technologies, computerization of production and social activity, the emergence of a new culture of labor and structure of needs, internationalization of economic life, establishment of a world economy, and the peoples' broad cultural communication. On this path favorable opportunities are opened up for the combination of economic effectiveness and social justice, for the growth of people's prosperity, the improvement of their quality of life, and the augmentation of cultural wealth.

These opportunities have not yet become reality. The real world is full of conflicts and injustice, of which it is difficult to rid ourselves. We cannot expect this to happen of its own accord. But the trend which has emerged is blazing a trail, albeit in an uneven and contradictory way, inspiring the progressive forces of mankind.

The industrially developed countries where the main centers of capitalism historically took shape joined in the technological revolution before the others and have already effected the transfer to predominantly intensive production, which has enabled them to resolve many social problems. Nonetheless modern capitalism does not ensure the harmonious development of society and man himself. The individualistic ideals of Western civilization do not provide a key for the solution of many acute contradictions. Sharp social contrasts, the desire to resolve one's problems at the expense of other peoples, authoritarian and militarist trends, the crisis of morality and culture, the virtual removal of vast groups of the population from participation in political life remain a reality. That is why the prospects for social progress cannot be built only on the "Western" view of social problems, without considering the features of the culture, traditions, and situation of all countries of the world.

The changes taking place in the world enable us also to take a new look at the historical destiny of socialism. The socialist movement arose in the industrial era and was based predominantly on a confrontationist political culture which reflected the acute class antagonisms of the society of that time. The new civilization currently taking shape in the modern world development does not fit into the usual notions of the classic industrial society and its harsh division into opposing classes or of the diametrically opposed nature of labor and capital and the confrontation of social systems.

The entire experience of the 20th century attests that socialist trends are not localized in selected countries but represent a global process of the development of the world community, which is based on the supreme achievements of labor and culture of all peoples and reflects people's desire for social justice, freedom, and democracy. The increasingly broad spread of socialist realities in the worldwide process of the development of civilization—that is the prospect which has already obviously emerged.

Socialism, democracy, progress—those are the aims of the CPSU. We are convinced that these aims accord with the people's interests. The future belongs to the society in which free development of each person is a condition for the free development of all.

Ligachev Attacks Results of Perestroyka

PM0708110191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 3 Aug 91 First Edition p 4

[Article by Yegor Ligachev under the "Our Articles" rubric; first paragraph is introduction: "As Was the Case"]

[Text] The time is the last three months of 1989. Events occurred with unprecedented speed in Eastern Europe, changing the political map of Europe. The social system collapsed and the socialist community disintegrated. West Germany was busy swallowing up the GDR.

The Soviet Leadership's Stance

I must say straightaway that even before World War II ended Western politicians proposed breaking Germany up into several states. The Soviet leadership advocated a single German state. It proceeded on the premise that Hitlers come and go, but the German people remain. Now that the question of setting up a united Germany had arisen on the agenda, this was seen as right and natural. The German people's division into two states could not last forever. But something else was at issue: What direction would the process of German unification take, on what foundation, and over what period of time? Those are the fundamental elements. Within a short time, less than a year, the GDR, a major socialist state, was swallowed up and a unified Germany based on a bourgeois system was proclaimed with the loss of socialist values.

Attempts to carry out democratic reforms and thus change the GDR for the better were not successful. Ruling circles in the FRG in alliance with right-wing forces in the GDR did everything they could to prevent this. The call for a referendum was rejected. Many GDR Germans advocated renewing the socialist system, but by no means favored restoring capitalism.

Within the short period of the first half of 1990 the Soviet leadership's stance on the German question underwent tremendous changes. The Soviet Union confirmed that it hews strictly to the German people's right to self-determination and to resolve their own destiny. The question of a united Germany's military-political status arose at this juncture. There were frequent changes of opinion here. At first it was suggested that a united Germany would be neutral, then that it would be simultaneously a member of the NATO bloc and the Warsaw Pact. The idea was frequently iterated that Soviet troops would remain in the GDR and that it was impossible to station Bundeswehr troops on GDR territory. Ultimately consent was given to both options, that is to a united Germany's being incorporated in NATO and Soviet troops being withdrawn from Germany. So, all the West's demands were effectively met.

Of course, it was hard for our leadership to resolve these questions when the Soviet Union's position in Europe was severely weakened, while the NATO bloc was strengthened. What is more, some West European politicians were not averse to causing clashes between the USSR and a united Germany and keeping aloof themselves. The emergence of a unified Germany at the center of Western Europe raised difficult questions for Britain, France, and other West European states. The United States would also have plenty to worry about. Clearly, the creation of a united Germany changed the correlation of forces within NATO and in the capitalist world. The changes in Eastern Europe changed the correlation of forces worldwide in favor of capitalism.

In Politburo practice when crisis situations developed in the world and when our country's interests and those of our allies were at stake, a commission of personnel from various departments was set up to formulate proposals and coordinate actions. This happened with regard to Poland, Afghanistan, South Yemen, and Angola. That is also how other countries operate. Nothing of the sort happened with regard to events in Eastern Europe although the Soviet Union's fundamental interests and questions of its security were at stake.

One thing was clear: Events in individual countries in Eastern Europe were the result not only of domestic development but also of foreign influence. For a long period the Western special services carried out thorough work in these countries, taking advantage of the major mistakes made by the states' former leaders, who democratized society in an inadmissibly slow and extremely inconsistent manner.

In fall 1989 when the crisis erupted in the GDR, politicians and businessmen poured into the republic and overtly invaded public and business life, making themselves at home, addressing election rallies and meetings, and claiming their "right" to their forebears' land and homes. Did this really not constitute interference in a sovereign state's affairs?

For our part, we did not make use of our opportunities to anticipate and avert a great deal in the course of the unfolding events in Eastern Europe. Indisputably, there could be no question of any interference with tanks. But one must not forget that our state held strong political, economic, and military positions in these countries. When talk turned to this, the inadmissibility of any interference in Eastern Europe's affairs was always emphasized, although we had treaties of alliance and friendship with them. All this was cast aside. Moreover, E.A. Shevardnadze stressed that our position of neutrality should set an example of international relations for all states, including the United States, which had previously impudently given Grenada and Panama short shrift and then routed Iraq, annihilating tens of thousands of civilians in the interests of the oil monopolies, as prominent U.S. politicians pointed out. This does not relieve Iraq of responsibility for invading Kuwait.

There is also the moral aspect of our stance on events in Eastern Europe. The "fear of interfering" reached such a scale that our party did not immediately raise its voice in defense of these countries' Communists. However, the Central Committee mailbag contained many letters from citizens with suggestions of this kind. This was also discussed by the Politburo. But everything went by the board. It was only after eight months following the events in Eastern Europe that the 28th CPSU Party Congress adopted a resolution protesting the persecution of Communists. We granted none of our friends and their families, with the exception of Honecker—and belatedly at that—the right to live in the Soviet Union nor gave them moral or material support. This time our great sense of internationalism, solidarity, and party fellowship betrayed us. You got the impression that the people on the Politburo dealing with international affairs were better disposed toward the West than toward socialist countries.

Despite their particular importance for the future of the state, questions of foreign policy and the CPSU's international activity were not considered at Central Committee plenums during the perestroyka period. During the first few years after the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum the procedure of collective Politburo consideration was observed most strictly. But in the period 1989-1990 there were more frequent cases of the Politburo's or the Central Committee's not discussing important suggestions regarding topical foreign policy and domestic policy problems.

For instance, that is what happened as regards M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech in December 1988. This speech advanced the ideas of deideologizing international relations. I personally found out about the New York speech from E.A. Shevardnadze at the airport terminal walking toward the aircraft gangway to see M.S. Gorbachev off to the United States. He said that the "UN speech had worked out." I replied: "I don't know anything about this speech since the Politburo has not exchanged opinions on it." As you can see, this was what happened with collective leadership.

Here is another example. Major foreign policy problems were frequently put to the vote without being discussed at sittings. In April 1990 I sent Gorbachev a note about the draft document on German unification which said: "I think that questions involving the whole country and the whole people should be examined at a Politburo sitting." I want to note that questions were put to a Politburo sitting following messages of this kind, but that was not always the case.

Varying Viewpoints Within The Politburo

There's nothing new in what I'm saying. As a Politburo member, although I was not involved in international affairs, I spoke about events in Eastern Europe and made proposals to the Politburo, at Central Committee plenums, at the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party constituent congress, and at the 28th CPSU Congress. Taking extreme measures, I wrote letters to Central Committee members. In addition to other issues, in them I proposed that a CPSU Central Committee plenum be convened to consider events in Eastern Europe. Admittedly, Central Committee members were not familiarized with them, we confined ourselves to Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries. No one argued with me outright or rejected my claims. Everything was soft-pedaled, as if it had not been noticed—a kind of conspiracy of silence. One was conscious that some people were reluctant to call a spade a spade.

Now that some perestroyka figures have accumulated a burden of responsibility, the country has been utterly disrupted, and the people are suffering privations, the most important thing for them is to destroy all things socialist in the country, break up the CPSU, set up a new party, and switch society to a different—neocapitalist—system, and thus cover their tracks.

Now that some time has elapsed a great deal is becoming clear. It turns out, judging from A.N. Yakovlev's utterances (NOVOYE VREMYA No. 44, 1990), that the changes in Eastern Europe (the loss of the socialist system) represent "great progress," "new horizons" have been opened up, and a step forward has been taken in liberating the peoples. He found nothing to say about the good things in these countries and in our relations with them. You are surprised at the "skill" with which defeats can be presented as victories. Certainly, it is hard to make a self-critical assessment of your own actions and easy to reproach your predecessors. But may be someting consonant with our views and plans has come about?

However, events in Eastern Europe corroborated the correct assessments made by the 19th party conference (1988) to the effect that contemporary international relations are based on class. Western policy has one aim: to turn these countries away from socialism to capitalism. To this end they are offering the aid that they refused when these countries were members of the socialist community. "Western voices" are hurriedly prophesying the collapse of the communist and workers' parties in Eastern Europe, these states' drift toward the bourgeois West, and the transfer of state property into the hands of private capital. However, right-wing radicals and pseudodemocrats have done everything they can to bury the all-Union party conference's idea that contemporary international relations are based on class, to consign it to oblivion and superimpose the demands of panhuman values.

International relations are primarily relations between states. But states are different, with different class structures and the needs and interests inherent in those structures. Have states, classes, social groups, socialism, and imperialism really disappeared? Of course not. What is the meaning of politics itself? It is consideration for the correlation of states, classes, peoples, consideration for and realization of their interests. Socialist values do not contravene panhuman values, they absorb, supplement, and develop them. But socialist values also include elements that are only inherent in socialism. Social ownership of the means of production, social and national equality, true collectivism, and the peaceful coexistence of all peoples.

Disregard for class interests in theory makes itself felt in political activity both within the country and on the international arena. This takes it toll by weakening the party's work among the working class and at grassroots level among the workers and peasants within the soviets, in eulogies of the Western life-style, the disparagement of international solidarity and internationalism in relations between socialist countries, and by forgetting the class nature of international relations.

However, the class approach prevails in the West when assessing our policy. Many politicians make economic aid for the Soviet Union conditional upon a number of demands, including the introduction of a free market economy, private ownership of the means of production, and the suspension of international aid—in particular to Cuba. At the beginning of 1990 THE NEW YORK TIMES published an article that raised the question: Should we help Gorbachev? Before answering this question, the newspaper remarked, it should be rephrased: In what matter should we "help him? If by the successes of perestroyka we mean the creation of a Communist system that will be economically efficient and politically democratic, the answer should be no." In the newspaper's opinion, aid must be channeled into dismantling the existing system and creating a powerful private sector.

We notice something else. Reform of socialism in the USSR and the formation of an effective economy, developed democracy, and a rule-of-law state on this basis are the effective means of improving the people's lives and really including them in running the country. Soviet people know that socialist transformations in the USSR mean strengthening socialism worldwide. That is our international duty. That is ultimately what will happen. Meanwhile something else is happening in the world: The socialist community is collapsing in Europe and the communist and workers' movements are weakening, on the one hand. And, on the other hand, economic and political positions are strengthening in industrially developed capitalist countries. Including through exploitation of Third World countries. Of course, there is a whole package of reasons for this. But reality is still reality.

Our country is indebted to the world's Communists; it has hitherto failed to analyze with them the changes taking place in the world or uncovered the reasons for the retreat of socialism in its specific manifestations, in its internal and external difficulties, and in its development. The arguments that the defeat of socialism as specifically manifested in Eastern Europe is virtually a good thing, that, supposedly, only now have conditions been created in Europe for the building of the all-European home, and "honest and open relations" are taking shape between the USSR and Eastern Europe hold absolutely no water.

For the first time in many years, for the first time in all Soviet history, perhaps, representatives of foreign parties were not invited to the 28th CPSU congress, there was no description of the international workers' and communist movement, and the thesis that the CPSU is an integral part of the international communist movement has been struck out from the new CPSU statutes. The party did not conceal its programmatic aims even during the most difficult times when it was operating underground. These questions cropped up at the Politburo when we examined the draft statutes. Every time that it was suggested that this important proposition be retained it was rejected with no reasons given.

I am convinced that representatives of communist, workers', social democratic, and other democratic progressive parties and movements should have been invited to the 28th CPSU Congress. This question cropped up at the Politburo several times. There were those "for" and "against." In my note to the Politburo I said that the "matter is so important that it should be examined at a Politburo sitting. I am absolutely in favor of inviting representatives of foreign parties to the 28th congress. I think that foreign guests' participation will have a favorable effect on the work of the party congress and will help unite progressive international forces."

Shortly afterward, M.S. Gorbachev visited the United States (at the end of May and beginning of June 1990). Before his departure there was an exchange of opinions regarding foreign parties' participation in the work of the 28th CPSU Congress. At this juncture Mikhail Sergeyevich said that Yegor Kuzmich [Ligachev] favored inviting foreign guests to the party congress and he backed this opinion. One would have thought that the matter had been settled. But far from it. A few days later when Central Committee secretaries met for a working conference, I recalled this decision. Turning to V.A. Medvedev, I asked him: "Vadim Andreyevich, where is the text of the invitation to foreign guests to attend the Congress?" Yakovlev butted into the conversation: "The major expenditure involved if foreign delegations are to be invited to the Congress must be taken into consideration," was his response to my question. A rejoinder from N.N. Slyunkov followed Yakovlev's remark: "What are you talking about, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, this is not, after all, a commercial but a political question." I added: "Mentioning costs is just political chicanery."

The secret became clear. Although it was clear before which way the wind was blowing. In short, an opportunity for the representatives of communist and workers' parties to meet was missed. Evidently, some members of the leadership had no need of it; it prevented them from organizing their policy with Western countries. I regret that I did not go all out for it.

Without doubt, grasping the situation in the international communist and workers' movement is a difficult, perhaps, supremely complex matter and one that requires tremendous knowledge, political perspicacity, and profound intellect. The party has intellectual forces to carry out this work with foreign friends through discussion and free exchange of opinions. During the first few years of perestroyka major efforts were made in this direction. M.S. Gorbachev tackled these problems in person. Let us recall the participation of foreign guests in celebrating the 70th anniversary of Great October and the international conference in Moscow in 1987 involving the leaders of progressive organizations from all over the world. In total this involved the delegates of hundreds of millions of people.

I was a member of the CPSU delegation to the international conference in the Kremlin and I remember the interest with which the conference participants listened to the speeches and various viewpoints and voiced a sense of gratitude to the CPSU leadership for organizing what was to all intents and purposes an unprecedented international quorum in terms of its composition and ideas. It all went downhill afterwards.

Everything that I have said by no means signifies, as some people are trying to say, that I am belittling the achievements of our diplomats and Soviet foreign policy. By no means.

The Soviet Union's most important success in the international arena in view of its long-term consequences is, in my view, the normalization of relations with China both at the state and party level. We have moved on from military clashes on the border to peaceful, friendly, constructive solutions. This road has been covered in a short period in Sino-Soviet relations. There are still great reserves here. The changes in Sino-Soviet relations are particularly near and dear to me because I spent several months in the PRC at the height of the friendship between our peoples and got to know the people and the country to a certain extent. I believe that the spirit of fraternity between the two world powers will be revived. It is fitting to note that the normalization of CPSU-CPC relations represents a major contribution to strengthening the international communist movement.

USSR-U.S. relations have shifted away from confrontation to talks and dialogue. The conclusion of the Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty during Bush's visit to Moscow is evidence that the disarmament process, which is the most important area of international relations, is continuing and is developing. It is time to supplement this process with active economic cooperation. Back in the time of the first Soviet five-year plans and World War II Soviet-U.S. relations played an important role in the industrialization of the USSR and in routing Hitlerite fascism. Admittedly, we had to pay a great deal for U.S. equipment for our plants, including masterpieces from our museums. While in the United States en route to Mexico with N.A. Ponomarev, chairman of the USSR Artists Union, we visited an art gallery in Washington and saw paintings by Goya, Rembrandt, and Titian from the Hermitage that were sold for dollars. That was the price that we paid for Russia's backwardness.

Finally, returning to contemporary Soviet foreign policy, I must note the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. Politicians and peoples once again saw that questions of the security of a state and equally social revolution should not be settled by force of arms. Our troops' involvement in the hostilities in Afghanistan and the death of Soviet soldiers constitute for us an open wound which even now causes pain in our society. However, we profoundly respect the Soviet internationalist soldiers—the "Afghans," as the people call them—for the duty they have performed.

Now another lesson. In politics you always have to consider the consequences of your decisions. Our incumbent leadership—like that of which I was a member—is poorly versed in this art.

As you can see, there are pluses—and big ones at that—in the state's and the party's foreign policy activity. But those comrades who only see Soviet foreign policy in the perestroyka period as a string of significant successes are wrong. There have also been losses—big ones, tremendous ones. Above all in Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe social dramas are being enacted and unemployment is rising to become a mass phenomenon. Our country has not received a large number of consumer goods from Eastern Europe unlike in past years. Incidentally, the opinion has developed in some areas of society that the Soviet Union supposedly gave European socialist countries nonrepayable aid. In actual fact relations between our countries were built on an equitable and mutually benefical foundation. A reminder about this has to be given if only because those people who are reassuring us over events in Eastern Europe have no intention of denying this fabrication.

Mistakes during the perestroyka period had a fatal effect not only on the country's internal development but also on the international communist and workers' movement and the future of socialism in Eastern Europe. When M.S. Gorbachev was awarded the Nobel Prize, President Bush said that "significant political and economic changes have taken place in Eastern Europe thanks to M.S. Gorbachev." I reacted calmly to this. Of course, the U.S. President likes the changes in Eastern Europe. There is nothing surprising in that. But was another matter for M.S. Gorbachev to say the same thing when addressing the Spanish parliament (27 October 1990). "I think that I have grounds for saying that German unification," he stressed, "would hardly have taken place, much less within such a short period and with international consent, were it not for Soviet perestroyka." And in an interview with Japan's ASAHI SHIMBUN, he said that the changes "in Eastern Europe... were largely possible due to the profound changes in Soviet policy, as a result of our perestroyka."

A hypothesis (which I did not trust) that hung in midair has now become recognized fact. In that connection I would like to put a question to you, Mikhail Sergeyevich. I thought hitherto that you saw events in Eastern Europe as a drama for all of us and our friends. I saw how you were suffering. It now turns out that German "unification" (the swallowing up of a socialist state) stands to perestroyka's credit. I hitherto thought that the policy of perestroyka did not signify the collapse but the strengthening of the socialist community. Soviet foreign policy has sustained tremendous losses, the country has lost many allies, and that's not something for which we hand out prizes.

Some Lessons

And so, in Europe there is the economically and militarily strong united German state. The Soviet people, who bore the greatest losses in World War II, cannot fail to be concerned for their destiny and the cause of peace in Europe. And the crux of the matter here is not "ill will" toward Germany. No. Of course, Europe now is different from the Europe of the 1930s, the eve of World War II. Of course, facts mean a lot, but in politics the development trend is more important. Countries which were socialist in the past have been substantially weakened and are experiencing economic and political upheavals. Germany is experiencing an economic boom. The leading place in the economy is occupied by large monopolistic associations whose heads play a significant role in determining Germany's policy. It has become a member of NATO and the single market. The Warsaw Pact Organization has been liquidated, and the economic community has ceased its activity. So, the forces of socialism have been weakened in the extreme, and the forces of capitalism strengthened. This is the reality.

Naturally, the question arises: Is there a guarantee of Europe's peaceful development? Will Germany not advance a demand for the return of the lands of Silesia, Sudetenland, and East Prussia? Such guarantees can be provided by real disarmament, the development of economic ties in every possible way, a collective security system for European states, and the unity of left-wing forces in Europe.

The Germans themselves have also undoubtedly changed a great deal, and democratic movements are strong there. And this is important. But it must not be forgotten that there were strong progressive forces in prewar Germany too. Just like today, however, they were disunited then. The presence of neo-Nazi revanchist forces in Germany must not be discounted. In addition, there is the possible formation of an army of unemployed and the shaping of forces disposed to adventurism from this milieu. Under certain conditions everything taken together could revive the policy of economic extremism, revenge, and Lebensraum. People will say that this is hardly likely. They will be bound to say so. But were the disappearance of the GDR and the collapse of the socialist community really considered possible?

It is exceptionally important that the problem of collective security be at the center not only of the state but also of public organizations. We ought to return to the idea of a "European roundtable" with the participation of the entire continent's broadest political and public forces. This proposal was put by the CPSU delegation at the French Communists' congress (December 1987) and gained a public response at that time.

The problems of collective security in Europe must be examined in our country at the highest state and party levels. They have not yet been discussed, unless you count the Supreme Soviet's ratification of the corresponding treaties. Some people are trying to impose the thought that the idea of a discussion of our European policy constitutes interference in other states' affairs. No way does concern for one's own country's security constitute interference in the internal affairs of foreign countries.

One of the lessons of what has happened in East European countries and the Soviet Union is the correct determination of social development trends and of a class approach to the assessment of events and phenomena in society. This is important for both domestic and foreign policy.

As was the case in East European countries, an underestimation of the chief danger is also apparent in our country. The initiators of the "Movement for Democratic Reforms," among whom we see Communists and CPSU Central Committee members embracing fervent anticommunist renegades, are once again intimidating the people with dictatorship, violence, fear, and chaos. As though it never occurs to them that we already have all this in our society without dictatorship. Moreover, some of them have had a hand in this.

The chief danger to the Soviet Union is anticommunist, national-separatist forces. An opposition bloc of revisionists and liquidationists is forming in the party. A stratum of the new bourgeoisie, of exploiters, is taking shape deep within society. They have their own ideologues, politicians, and press organs and are preparing to occupy seats in the power structures of society. The class struggle is becoming a reality. In individual parts of the country it has assumed the form of an armed struggle. Comrades write about all this in numerous letters which I receive.

Antisocialist forces have begun dividing up the property of the whole people into private compartments, creating the economic basis for a neocapitalist society. The question of transferring land to private hands was not raised even during the period of the new economic policy [early-mid 1920's]. They campaign for an unregulated market and mass unemployment and try to recreate in the public consciousness the cult of private enterprise and profit at the working people's expense. The policy which has brought the country to ruin is frequently defined in collectives as an antipopular, treacherous policy. I felt this once again on visiting enterprises in the Donbass and Moscow. Labor collectives are acting correctly by creating committees for the defense of land, means of production, and all public property. The law on reducing state control over property grants them wider rights. At the same time I wish to point out that it is necessary to widely allocate inheritable land for private homesteads and peasant farms, for the construction of houses and garages, and for horticulture and truck gardening.

The events in East Europe teach vigilance. This concerns the CPSU too. Just two questions. About the CPSU's unity. Most frequently this is occasioned not by the claim that the party is not being renewed, as supporters of splitting it try to explain, but, to use Gogol's words, by the "tattered reality" that exists in the country, by the policy of constantly making people's lives worse. The party has been split in four republics, and many worthy people have left the CPSU. In my opinion, the unity of the party's ranks can only be strengthened by means of their ideological and organizational demarcation and cohesion on the basis of a policy of socialist transformations, the working people's social protection, and the principle of democratic centralism the way Lenin understood it.

About collective leadership in the party. In the party's top echelon we are encountering deviations from the Leninist principles of collective leadership. There was a time when the Secretariat did not work, and now this fate has been prepared for the Central Committee Politburo. Central questions of domestic and foreign policy frequently are not worked out or discussed in the party before being submitted to the top state organs for examination. The party's Central Committee does not use its right of legislative initiative. Sometimes we hear a statement by the general secretary on fundamental issues which runs counter to the party's collectively elaborated principles. In particular, while in Norway, Gorbachev imparted a new view of perestroyka as our society's way out of one system and entry into another. Perestroyka was not conceived to replace the Soviet system but to reform it, and things went swimmingly for us while we followed this course. Violations of the party's collective leadership, as its history testifies, are inadmissible and are fraught with grave consequences.

The situation in the country is not improving, and difficulties in society are growing. Individuals in the president's entourage are leaving the CPSU in order to evade responsibility for destructive work in the spheres of domestic and foreign policy. Indeed, the wonder of wonders is not how the muzhik came down from heaven but how he got into heaven.

I recall the words of the writer I. Vasilyev: "We have gone crazy if we regard the highest degree of dishonor and immorality—betrayal of faith, of the ideal of comradeship, of one's oath and pledge—as something valorous. All the great martyrs have been abandoned, all the crucified and immolated and all those who fell but did not betray have been calumniated and spurned." Apostates are elected deputies, presidents, and mayors. This is why they needed to calumniate and blacken all our past, so as to force their way into power.

Regarding myself, I will say the following. I assume some responsibility for what has happened. I reproach myself for not making full use of all the available opportunities to champion the party's political line and, accordingly, the positions which I held. And in a number of cases I did not find ways to realize them. I did everything to preserve the Politburo's unity, and at times this bordered on serious concessions.

But, whatever happens to me, I am always with the CPSU and I remain with it now. I will continue to stand up for the party's democratization and the purity of its ranks and against liquidationism. I consider it a matter of special importance to strengthen and expand the Communist press. This too is one of the lessons.

May I be permitted to address my party comrades, Communists, and all working people. All to whom the homeland and socialist ideals are dear, gather beneath the Communist Party's banners to repulse reaction, which is seeking to put an end to October's gains, for the defense of democracy and genuine human rights and freedoms, for the country's emergence into the expanse of socialist progress and a better life for the people. For the creation of a socialist bloc of the country's patriotic forces headed by the working class!

KGB's Anti-Drug Activities Reported

91UF1039A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 2 Aug 91 p 3

[Interview with Colonel S. Volokhov, deputy chief of the Department for Fighting Contraband of the USSR KGB, by V. Ostrovskiy; place and date not given: "The Fatal Corridor"]

[Text] [Ostrovskiy] Sergey Mikhaylovich, you are engaged in a battle against contraband narcotics and working against the penetration of this "poison" into our country from abroad. How would you comment on the section of the economic declaration on narcotics adopted by the 'seven' recently in London?

[Volokhov] All four articles pertaining to the drug problem, strange as it may possibly seem to you, fully correspond to the approach to this problem taken by law enforcement organs of the Soviet Union. In my view, this correspondence shows fairly clearly that law enforcement activity in various countries has something in common in the modern world, that they are united, and this makes it possible for them to join forces in an uncompromising battle against the evil which the criminal distribution of drugs and narcotic substances has become throughout the world.

I shall mention just two articles from this section—Articles 59 and 61 of Section B. In Article 59 the 'seven' announce a continuation of their efforts to fight against the distribution of cocaine and heroin, which is still the main strong narcotic consumed in Europe, Asia, and America. Participants in the London summit meeting stated that "it is necessary to step up cooperation both to reduce the production of heroin in Asia and to combat its entry into Europe." Moreover, the leaders of the states that signed this declaration noted that the transformations taking place in Central and East Europe and the opening up of borders in this region have not contributed to the growth of the threat of drug abuse. These changes have facilitated their illegal shipment and distribution, but at the same time they have increased the possibilities of the organization of joint actions by the countries of Europe in fighting the spread of drugs. As you can see, nothing in these intentions of the seven industrialized countries contradicts our goals and tasks.

In Article 61 (Subsection B) they approve the measures for combating criminal use of chemical substances recommended in the report from the special operations group on the effects of chemical substances based on the International Convention on Fighting Illegal Circulation of Narcotics adopted in 1988. They discuss the forthcoming conference in Asia devoted to the problem of heroin and this operations group's conference planned for March 1992. At this meeting it is planned to consider the institutional future of this group's work. Can the USSR KGB really be indifferent to such a range of measures for fighting against the spread of drugs? Of course not.

[Ostrovskiy] Does this mean that KGB organs will be represented in the conferences you mentioned? I understand that this problem must be resolved at the state level, but someone must make sure that the Soviet Union takes the first step in the international arena. Will the Committee for State Security be able to play the role of the initiator of this step?

[Volokhov] You have asked me questions that are beyond my official level. They pertain more to the leadership of the KGB and the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, within whose competence this decision falls. I hope that the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs will not stand on the sidelines of this problem, and I thank you for raising the questions. But first, obviously, it is necessary to make contact with the 'seven' regarding this problem and stipulate that the Soviet Union has become a participant in conferences like this on a permanent basis. I see something positive in the very invitation to cooperate, which is contained in the economic declaration, and the participation in the development of measures for fighting against this evil. This opens up the possibility within the framework of cooperation to combat the expansion of drug trafficking more effectively and to do specific preventive work.

[Ostrovskiy] Sergey Mikhaylovich, the Soviet Union is obviously a participant in international agreements for fighting drugs. Could you say a little bit about this facet of our country's activity? And if possible, of course, give some concrete examples in this area?

[Volokhov] There is the Vienna Convention of the United Nations for Combating Illegal Circulation of Narcotics and Psychotropic Substances. It was concluded in 1988 and we ratified it in January 1990. We have also concluded bilateral agreements for cooperation in this area with Great Britain, France, the United States, Canada, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Turkey. Incidentally, the first conference of EuroKhONLEA [expansion unknown] was held in Moscow in November of last year. Representatives of 31 countries and also observers from international organizations, including Interpol, participated in it. They coordinated joint actions of police services, customs organs, and special services on a national and international level. They discussed such an important question as the exchange of intelligence information among the corresponding departments of the countries and other problems.

One must say that when planning international cooperation our service proceeds from the fact that in the West drug trafficking has become one of the most dangerous kinds of organized crime. It is capable of penetrating into state mechanisms and subverting them from within. Taking this sad experience into account, state security organs are striving to promptly create an effective system of measures for preventing illegal importation and distribution of narcotics in the USSR.

In our struggle against this kind of crime we cannot but take into account the processes of activation of contacts between Soviet citizens and various Western firms, the expansion of humanitarian ties, and the significant increase in the number of our citizens going abroad. These circumstances, which are essentially gratifying, are skillfully taken advantage of by drug dealers in order to draw individual Soviet citizens into criminal operations involving narcotics. The basis of this enlistment is known to everyone—the possibility of getting rich without working, that is, greed.

In order to make this clearer, I shall give a couple of examples. We are resolutely frustrating attempts to turn the territory of the Soviet Union into a transit corridor for transporting narcotics from Asia to Europe, from Latin America to Europe, and so forth. We are assisting customs officials in preparing and conducting, as we put it, "control" deliveries of narcotics to other countries through our territory. Thus we conducted a number of operations that made it possible to seize and expose criminal groups delivering narcotics to Canada, Great Britain, Belgium, and the Netherlands. As a result of the joint actions with law enforcement organs of the aforementioned states, we arrested 30 people and confiscated 12 tons of narcotics, a batch of firearms, valuables worth a large amount of money, and also foreign currency.

I can report that, according to information we have, even now the international drug mafia is trying to use Soviet territory for the transit of drugs from the Asian regions to Europe. There is a large amount of work here and therefore international cooperation is simply necessary. For this same reason the economic declaration of the 'seven' which we are discussing, in posing and resolving these problems, in my view, is hitting the nail on the head. This important document was intended, as we can see from the text, to consolidate international forces of the law enforcement organs of many countries.

TASS Reviews 8 Aug Soviet Central Press

LD0808073391 Moscow TASS in English 0601 GMT 8 Aug 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—PRAVDA carries the text of the draft programme of the Soviet Communist Party, drawn up by the commission that was set up by the 28th party congress. In accordance with the resolution of the July plenary meeting of the party Central Committee and the programme commission, the draft program will be subject for an all-party discussion, after which it will be submitted to the extraordinary 29th party congress. According to the report "On Soviet Communist Party Progamme", published by PRAVDA, the Central Committee and the commission invite communists and the public of the country to take part in the discussion. It should promote the working out of realistic objectives, the consolidation inside the party and the overall renewal of the party's activities. The objectives of the Soviet Communist Party are socialism, democracy and progress, the draft programme says.

PRAVDA carries the commentary entitled "Why Should One Be So Nervous?" It says: "Numerous commentaries on the July plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, published by the democratic and, of course, 'one hundred per cent independent' press, produce strange impression." The commentary stresses that neither the documents of the plenary meeting, nor the draft programme of the party published today contain appeals for the struggle, confrontation with those who think differently, let alone coups. "The present Soviet Communist Party puts the interests of the nation, motherland and individual above all party and political arguments and contradictions. Perhaps, this is the way by which it is possible to take our much-suffering country and our society out of the economic, political and cultural crisis, to light the beacon of hope for us all?" the commentary stresses.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries documents of the plenary meeting of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee, as well as its resolutions "On Political Situation in the Republic and Tasks of the Communist Party," "On Constituent Conference of the Democratic Party of Russian Communists" and "On Urgent Problems of Work of Party Organisations of the Russian Communist Party in Connection With the Decree of the Russian President of July 20, 1991". SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA began to publish the rendering of reports made at the plenary meeting. It also carries the text of the Soviet law "Fundamentals of Turning Over State Property to Other Owners and the Privatisation of Enterprises." It provides the legal basis for turning over state-owned enterprises to other owners and for their privatisation.

The press comments on the results of the plenary meeting of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee. Viktor Yurlov wrote in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA that today we cannot receive a satisfactory answer to the question: What is going on with the Russian Communist Party? "Everything has turned upside down in the political kaleidoscope," he pointed out.

PRAVDA carries a short interview with Valentin Kuptsov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party. "There should be no confrontation," the new leader of Russian Communists stressed.

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA continues the discussion of the notion of "political centralism". Leon Onikov, consultant of the ideological department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, contributed an article to the newspaper on this subject, which is entitled "Centralism Is the Policy of Common Sense".

Anatoliy Tyazhkov, chairman of the executive committee of the Moscow regional council, comments in RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA on the problem of Moscow's merging with the Moscow region to form a single entity, a kind of "Moscow republic". He believes that its creation "will not resolve problems of the Moscow region. Moreover, it will aggravate them."

SELSKAYA ZHIZN carries the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers "On the Order of Introducing the State Land Cadaster, Land Monitoring and Principles of Payment for Land in the USSR."

SELSKAYA ZHIZN publishes a report of the press centre of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture and food under the heading "Harvest- 91: Problems and Concerns." It says that the harvesting of grain crops is going on in all regions of the country. The pace of the work last week remained on the level of the previous week. Grain has been harvested on the area of 9.7 million hectares.

PRAVDA publishes a report on the briefing held at the Soviet Interior Ministry, that dealt with the results of anti-crime activities in the first half of 1991. The report is entitled "Crime Rate Is Still Growing."

The national trade union—Association of Civil Aviation Pilots—will declare strike alert on August 10 and a strike on September 2, if positive results are not achieved at talks with the government. Vice President of the trade union A. Yeliseyev wrote in TRUD about the reasons underlying the decision of the trade union to announce the date of the beginning of the strike for the second time this year.

Physical culture problems should be resolved without delay, chairman of the USSR State Sports Committee wrote in TRUD.

Lieutenant General Erik Kosenko, head of a department of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, has contributed an interview to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA. It deals with the characteristic features of the radio electronic warfare, used by the United States during the Gulf war. He pointed out that "they will be analysed by specialists, in order to take into account all that can be useful for the development of the Soviet Armed Forces." At the same time, the current analysis shows that there are no serious reasons for changing considerably corresponding provisions of the military reform concept," Kosenko stressed.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries an interview with Colonel General Gennadiy Kolesnikov, deputy commander-in-chief of the strategic missile troops. He spoke about the components and the meaning of professionalism of the people, who handle one of the most up-to-date types of weapons.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with Oleg Romantsov, senior coach of the Spartak football team. "We cannot afford football stars," he said, among other things.

Vsevolod Ovchinnikov comments in PRAVDA on the applications for joining the United Nations Organisation, submitted by Pyongyang and Seoul. He is sure that the joining of the world community by North and South Korea "will promote the reunification of the country, and, to begin with, the turning of the Korean peninsula into a nuclear- free zone.

The press carries a statement of the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman in connection with the discussion on the settlement of the Cyprus problem, that became more active recently. The Soviet Union's stand in support for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus is "consistent and invariable," the statement said.

Military

Weapons Designers Discuss Tor, Osa Missiles

91UM0808A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Veniamin Pavlovich Yefremov, general designer at the Antey Scientific-Production Association, and Major General Aleksandr Grigoryevich Luzan, chief engineer of Ground Forces Air Defense Forces and candidate of technical sciences, by Lieutenant Colonel A. Dokuchayev; place and date not given: "Our Defense Arsenal: 'Tor' Versus 'Blue Bat'"]

[Text] **Aircraft incorporating "stealth" technology, superbombs for destroying hardened bunkers, cluster bombs, highly accurate guided weapons... This is by no means the full list of the latest weapons that the Americans used during the Persian Gulf war. The facilities for mounting an air assault continue to improve. It is reported from across the ocean that the U.S. Army has concluded a contract with Northrop (worth $344 million) to develop a qualitatively new "smart" missile weapon intended for use against enemy tanks and armored vehicles. Designated "Bat," the weapon will employ a guidance system based not only on heat radiation but also noise sources. In short, a highly accurate weapon is being improved upon. And what about means of defense?**

This is the subject of our correspondent's interview with Veniamin Pavlovich Yefremov, general designer at the Antey Scientific-Production Association and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Major General Aleksandr Grigoryevich Luzan, chief engineer of Ground Forces Air Defense Forces and candidate of technical sciences.

[Dokuchayev] You believe that there is a weapon capable of dealing with highly accurate bombs. But in the Persian Gulf war, offensive weapons dominated. The experts have noted that there was no countermeasure.

[Luzan] In fact, offensive weapons dominated in the war because there simply were no defensive weapons that could be used as countermeasures to the highly accurate bombs. Neither Iraq nor the multinational forces had them. A surface-to-air missile [SAM] system capable of dealing with highly accurate weapons has been put into service with our Armed Forces Ground Forces. This is the Tor system. It was developed by the Antey firm. Incidentally, to its credit Antey also has missile systems like the Krug and the Osa systems, known throughout the world.

[Yefremov] In our opinion, both the Krug and Osa were the most effective battlefield air-defense weapons in their class at the time when they went into service, and are still as good as many foreign analogues. But everything has its time.

Already by the mid-1970's it had become clear that air strikes would be made with highly accurate weapons—missiles guided by the thermal and radio emissions of various targets, television-guided missiles with bombs, remotely piloted vehicles [RPV's]. We started to receive information that abroad they were developing the Harm and Maverick missiles, and planning bombs like the Walleye and Blue Bat. And then the Antey Scientific-Production Association started to develop the Tor, a new generation of SAM systems. Now we have achieved what we wanted. The Tor SAM system is able to provide cover for troops during mobile forms of engagements and when on the move against attack from aircraft and highly accurate weapons, including air-launched missiles, guided (corrected) bombs, RPV's, and antiradar missiles. Only one system in the world today has these capabilities.

[Dokuchayev] So it turns out that the most correct direction was chosen by Antey?

[Yefremov] The choice of one direction, even if it is absolutely correct, is little enough. An enormous scientific and production potential is required. By no means do all firms have this, and so it was not possible to accomplish what was planned.

[Dokuchayev] Or perhaps they did not want to?

[Yefremov] The desire to develop a highly effective defensive weapon is present in all firms engaged in the development of SAM systems. In fact, work was started on systems like our Osa system and the American Mauler system almost simultaneously. Understanding that the troops need an effective short-range system to destroy targets at very low and medium altitudes, the developers undertook the accelerated development of the Mauler system. This work, however, did not culminate in success. As a result the United States was forced to purchase a license to produce the Roland-2 SAM.

The Tor SAM that we have developed is superior in all ways to the Roland-2.

[Dokuchayev] Veniamin Pavlovich, did the firm's experience in developing the Osa help? As you know, that system has given a good account of itself in various states and has shown good results in wars and military conflicts.

[Yefremov] Even today Osa (this is a short-range system) is an effective weapon. But the traditions were established earlier. The firm started to develop fire control radar. Ours are the Son-4, Son-15, and Son-30. We switched to the development of SAM systems after 1958. We developed the first troop system, the Krug, for the Ground Forces.

We set ourselves this goal: A SAM system should secure performance in mobile forms of engagement. I remember that at that time academician Raspletin, who was engaged in the development of SAM systems for the Air Defense Forces, came to us and was interested in how the work was going. It was thought that it was very difficult to gather together all the elements of a system on a single vehicle, and before that systems used to consist of several transport units. Our plans succeeded and the Krug SAM system made its appearance with a minimum number of combat resources. Many readers will have seen it during parades on Red Square. Then came the Osa. During its development the Antey Scientific-Production Association proposed the concept of developing a SAM system deployed on a single self-propelled chassis and capable of operating both independently and with other similar SAM systems whose actions were coordinated from a command post. This system is now in service with our armed forces and with the armies of India, Libya, Iraq, and some others. In addition, a modified version is used in the Navy.

[Luzan] I regard the Osa as a great achievement of design thinking. Antey succeeded in making an independent battlefield system. The target acquisition and target recognition radars, which operate while on the move, the tracking radar, the launcher, and the electric power system are all located on the one vehicle. The combat vehicle performs the entire cycle—detection, identification, lock on for automatic tracking, missile launch, guidance to target.

The Osa is rather old, but during the course of the war in the Persian Gulf the system did not disappoint its developers. It was particularly successful against cruise missiles. Judge for yourselves. Losses among the multinational forces were 0.2 percent, but more than 10 percent for cruise missiles. According to our figures, more than 300 Tomahawks were launched and more than 30 missiles were intercepted. And that was due largely to the Osa system and the Shilka antiaircraft artillery system.

[Dokuchayev] Now on the subject of what the Tor battlefield SAM system actually is. What distinguishes it from previous generations of systems?

[Yefremov] In brief, the Tor is a SAM system mounted on a single self-propelled, tracked chassis and is made up of eight missiles in a container, target acquisition and recognition radars, and a high-speed digital computer.

The Tor is the first system of this class in which use has been made of vertical missile launching. A catapult throws the missile in the direction of the target and only then is the engine fired. This is important in repulsing air attacks from all directions. Our missile has a contactless proximity fuse and a high-explosive fragmentation warhead with high-energy fragments. As already noted, the high level of overload and the missile's great speed insure the destruction of all maneuvering targets, from highly accurate weapons to armor-plated aircraft. What else? The missile with its command guidance system has a slant range of destruction of up to 12 kilometers. Reloading is done with the aid of special transport facilities.

A second distinctive feature is that the Tor is the first battlefield system in which use was made of a small-element phased-array radar with an electronically controlled beam. What does this provide? The ability to track and destroy two targets simultaneously with a high degree of accuracy, in any weather or at any time of day or night, and I emphasize this, regardless of ground clutter on the battlefield and enemy electronic countermeasures. Other systems are incapable of these actions. An automatic television system acts as a backup for target tracking, which makes the Tor stable against strikes from highly accurate weapons.

The elegance of the Tor's subassemblies is its third distinguishing feature. In addition to the components already named, a gas turbine power source and a backup are mounted on a single chassis.

[Dokuchayev] And this enables the Tor to deal effectively with highly accurate weapons?

[Yefremov] I have already mentioned a number of important combat characteristics. It should also be said that missile guidance and all regimes of the system are realized with a high-speed digital computer system. Automation of the working processes, from target acquisition to its destruction, has brought reaction time down to an absolute minimum. The Tor is essentially a robot.

[Luzan] The system can intercept enemy aircraft or destroy highly accurate weapons with a reaction time of five seconds from the moment of target acquisition. How is this achieved? An omnidirectional radar acquires the targets (up to 48), and the 10 most dangerous are automatically tracked. These targets are assigned a priority according to the criteria for danger (that is, it is determined that this target is the most dangerous, this one here is second and that one is third), and preparations are made to launch against the most dangerous or important. The task for the operator is to confirm that the selected targets should be tracked and to push the "launch" button.

[Dokuchayev] Has Tor given an account of itself in practical work?

[Luzan] The system has undergone design and battlefield testing. These are a few of the features. A Tor can effectively engage an MD-20 target (a shell from the legendary "katyusha"). In our opinion this is a relatively inexpensive imitator of a highly accurate weapon—it flies at supersonic speed and at variable speeds.

We conducted an interesting experiment in the European part of the country. Two fighter-bomber elements made up of experienced pilots (an expert marksman pilot and a pilot first class) had to try to beat an air defense system set up by a Tor battery. The result? The pilots concluded that the Tor-based air defense system was virtually impenetrable without the use of additional resources by the attacking side.

[Dokuchayev] A great deal has been said about the combat capabilities of the Tor, but the proofs cited for the reader may seem unconvincing if no comparison is made with similar foreign weapons.

[Yefremov] I repeat that there is no foreign analogue of the Tor. There are effective systems—the French-German Roland, the British Rapier, and the French Crotale. The improved Roland is closer to our system in terms of specifications and performance characteristics, but even it is inferior in terms of some parameters, and no better than the Tor with respect to others. The Roland can operate only against aircraft and helicopters, but it is the highly accurate guided weapons that are now being moved to the fore. It can destroy targets moving at 600 meters per second, while the Tor can destroy them at 700 meters per second. Our system can fire simultaneously at two targets, while the French-German system can fire at only one.

[Dokuchayev] So it turns out that the system planned and built by the Antey Scientific-Production Association is the most effective in terms of its ability to destroy all present and prospective threats "in its own sector"?

[Yefremov] We believe that this is so. Of course, we must not forget the conclusions of the military experts, particularly the following. Only the comprehensive use of all resources used for reconnaissance and destruction, a high degree of automation in the processes of data acquisition and processing, and in control and target allocation make it possible to cope successfully with the air defense mission in modern warfare. The development of nontraditional methods is also required for detection of airborne targets, the further development of weapons, and the introduction and mastery of automated command and control of forces and weapons. So the Tor fits into the new concept of air defense. It is apropos to mention here that the Tor maintains telecode [telekodnyy] communication with existing air defense command systems at the command and control and communications and intelligence level.

[Dokuchayev] The Tor went into service quite recently. Has the system been rehearsed technologically?

[Luzan] Does the Tor suit the troops? I can tell you that it does. All the equipment in the system has been made according to the latest technical achievements and has a developed functional control, which insures a high degree of operational reliability. The missile is built on the cartridge principle and does not require checking throughout its service life. As of today, design levels have been reached for reliability, and they have been achieved more quickly than for earlier systems.

True, there is one "but"—the Tor requires a quite different intellectual level for the combat crew specialists; they have to deal with digital equipment and really take the psychology of the individual into account. We are now looking for new approaches to training missile crews.

[Yefremov] Equipment is becoming more complex but as before the maintenance service in the army is being staffed on the residual principle. Highly trained specialists are allocated to combat resources, but I am convinced that it should be the other way round.

[Dokuchayev] In short, given high-quality maintenance, the Tor will not fail in battle, the firm guarantees....

[Yefremov] Yes, we are sure not only of the Tor's combat capabilities but also its reliability. Therefore, all those who acquire an air defense missile system from us, including foreign armies, will have no complaints.

However, I would also like to talk about the problems. The Persian Gulf war showed that today what we count on is air attack resources. For example, in the United States 37 percent of all military spending goes for this purpose while 11 percent goes for SDI. This means that the response by our side should be appropriate. But what do we see? The appropriations made for the Ministry of Defense are being dissipated on the principle of "everyone gets his share." Now, when in practice the provisions of a military doctrine oriented on defense are being implemented, I believe that the Air Defense Forces should have priority, and likewise the firms engaged in the development of air defense resources. We made the Tor in record time—six or seven years. But today the "defense" enterprises find themselves on an unequal footing with other enterprises and cooperatives, the highly skilled specialists are leaving, our computer programmers are being enticed away from us, and so forth. If this continues, we will be unable to make a new generation of defensive weapons in the same time that it took to develop the Tor.

Conversion, also, must be accomplished sensibly. Do we need to set up new production lines if we can use the earnings from the sale of the Tor to buy civilian goods for tens or hundreds of thousands of people. Some may say that this is income from the sale of weapons. But they are defensive weapons, a shield over our heads, like an umbrella, for example. We must not ignore the realities of life.

[Luzan] I would like to add that the Antey Scientific-Production Association is now the trendsetter in world fashion in the development of battlefield air defense weapons. Why give up that leadership? Ultimately that is not advantageous, either politically, economically, or morally.

[Dokuchayev] A final question. Veniamin Pavlovich, why is your latest system called "Tor"?

[Yefremov] The torus is a spatial figure in the form of a life preserver. And in ancient Scandinavian mythology Thor was the god of thunder and lightning and the protector of farmers. Both meanings of the word correspond to the intent of our defensive system.

Estonia

Supreme Council To Hold Emergency Session

OW0808111991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1020 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An emergency session of the Estonian Supreme Council is to open on August 12 in Tallinn.

BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent reports from Tallinn that an agenda of the session has not yet been set. According to preliminary reports, the session is expected to focus on land reform. Also, press reports say Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar will possibly come out with a proposal to reorganize the government's structure.

Foreign Ministry Official on U.S. Trade Status

OW0608200591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1815 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] U.S. Consul-General in Leningrad Jack Gosnell met Tuesday with Estonian Parliament speaker Ulo Nugis and the republic's Foreign Minister Lennart Meri.

The consul arrived in Tallinn on August 6 following a visit to Vilnius where he had attended the funeral of 7 customs officers and policemen who had been killed in Medininkai.

According to an official report of the Estonian Foreign Ministry, Meri "explained to the consul-general the Estonian position vis-a- vis giving the USSR a most-favoured-nation status in trade with the USA which President George Bush suggests should also be extended to the Baltics".

Director of the Estonian Foreign Ministry's political department Juri Luik explained to the BALTFAX that the problems arose in connection with President Bush's August 2 statement that suggests "extending the most-favoured-nation status to Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania". The Estonian Foreign Ministry believes that the use of this statement in a document concerning the USSR is, to an extent, a departure from the policy refusing to recognize the incorporation of the Baltics into the Soviet Union. Luik said that the statement emphasized, however, that the U.S. line on the Baltics remained unchanged.

Luik said that, according to the Estonian Foreign Ministry, the Baltics should get the most-favoured-nation status separately from the USSR, and the ministry will continue consultations with the U.S. Congress and Administration.

Economic Issues Discussed With Soviet Delegation

LD0708213991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Russian 2030 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Report by Lybov Chernaya]

[Excerpt] A meeting of a group of experts on economic problems, which had been arranged by the Estonian and Soviet delegations, took place today.

The decision to hold such a meeting was made after Deputy Prime Minister Nikolay Laverov, who heads the Soviet delegation, asked that the meeting of the delegations, which was supposed to take place by 6 August, be postponed because of a lack of coordination on the positions of some economic, historic, and legal issues.

After the meeting, Indrek Toome reported that practically the whole range of questions that could be dealt with by the group had been discussed. USSR property in Estonia, prices, and the USSR's hard currency foreign debt and Estonia's role in it were discussed. The positions on almost all issues were coordinated by both parties.

On the afternoon of 6 August, the leaders of the group of economic experts will sign corresponding protocols and will propose to the heads of the Soviet and Estonian delegations that a regular meeting be held next week.

Indrek Toome gave a positive assesment of the attitude of the Soviet experts. He said: It seems that at least on the level of experts the understanding has been established that the fact of the transitional period to the independence of Estonia and that after the completion of this period Estonia will inevitably become an independent state should be recognized and recorded in documents. In any case, there was no mention of the Union treaty and that we must by all means sign it.

Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar announced at the meeting of leaders of the People's Front of Estonia, which took place on Sunday, that if negotiations with Moscow concerning the issue of Estonian independence do not start during the next three months, then the republic will have to declare a one-sided declaration of independence. In that case we will have to inform Moscow about the date of the declaration of independence, the prime minister said. He added that along with this step, control over Estonia's borders must be established, the monetary systems must be separated, a provisional constitution must be adopted, and elections must be held. [passage omitted]

Popular Front, 'Democratic Russia' To Meet

OW0808120091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1020 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Representatives of the Estonian Popular Front and the "Democratic Russia" movement are to meet on August 10-11 in Tallinn.

They are expected to discuss a broad range of problems, including prospects for closer cooperation.

Popular Front Discusses 'Russian Issue'

LD0708123991 Moscow TASS in English 1212 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn August 7 TASS—"The Estonian nation is prepared to guarantee national minorities living in sovereign Estonia all rights," the Baltic republic's Popular Front said in a resolution adopted at a conference, which is discussing the so-called "Russian issue".

The resolution, published by the local media today, says that the Front "reiterates its backing for principles, under which uniform citizenship should be introduced in the republic. Each civilian living in Estonia, who did not have Estonian citizenship before 1940, is entitled to request it."

The Popular Front called for "an understanding on the principles of citizenship between the political forces of Estonia and democratically-minded representatives of the Russian-speaking community, and the affirmation of these principles in a decision by the Estonian Parliament".

The Front said that the Estonian Department on Emigration, the Public Education Ministry, the language department, the Ministry for Social Affairs and the Economics Ministry should work out a special programme to help those, who do not want to leave Estonia, to fit in as quickly and smoothly as possible.

The Front added that its supports practical action under agreements with Russia and other republics to help all those willing to leave Estonia to resettle elsewhere.

It said that "the Popular Front faction in the Estonian Parliament should press for extensive cooperation with non-Estonian deputies that take a favourable view of the restoration of Estonian sovereignty and of the Estonian Republic's laws".

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy To Visit Tallinn 7-8 Aug

OW0708144291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1310 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Estonian Paevaleht, the Chairman of the Soviet Liberal-Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is to visit Tallinn on August 7-8 at the invitation of the Intermovement and the Council of Strike Committees.

The former Russian presidential candidate is expected to meet employees of the Estonian fish-processing industry and the Elektrotekhnika, Volta, Dvigatel and Poogelmann plants. The LDP leader is to speak at the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party (CPSU) and meet war veterans.

Zhirinovskiy visited Tallinn several years ago and spoke at a rally of the Intermovement. The paper reminds its readers that Zhirinovskiy is an advocate of unconditionally preserving the USSR and forming a Baltic province. According to Paevaleht, Zhirinovskiy has promised that if he is elected USSR President he will appoint Colonel Viktor Alksnis, a leader of the Soyuz faction in the USSR Parliament, the governor of the province. He also warned Finland not to support the efforts of the Baltic states to reach independence otherwise Russia might reconsider its "solution of the Finnish question".

Further on Zhirinovskiy Visit

OW0808044991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1930 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of the USSR Vladimir Zhirinovskiy who had arrived in Tallinn on August 7 on a two-day visit, has met with representatives of the Russian-speaking population of Estonia in the CPSU-CPE (the Communist Party of Estonia) Central Committee building.

Zhirinovskiy has been invited to Estonia by the Intermovement and the Council of Striking Committees favoring the preservation of the USSR.

He considers the ethnic problem as the main one facing the USSR and proposes to start solving it by replacing the principle of ethnic-territorial division with the administrative one. Zhirinovskiy has promised to form the Baltic Province consisting of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, the Kaliningrad region and part of the Pskov region and to appoint colonel Viktor Alksnis its governor. According to Zhirinovskiy, Alsknis "has already agreed".

"I am not interested in the Estonian state banner. Only one banner will fly over the whole province. It will be a unique state with one banner and one language", he said.

"Don't tell me fairy tales about the Baltics' independence. Exactly 270 years ago Russia and Sweden signed the treaty giving the Baltics to Russia forever."

Zhirinovskiy also reminded that "the treaty granting independence to Finland had been signed by Lenin who as a head of executive bodies had no right to do that".

Zhirinovskiy called a new Union treaty which will be signed beginning from August 20 an "anti-state document". "I will never forget names of people who sign it.

When I become the President, I am ready to see them off to the Sheremetyevo airport to make them leave this country".

Zhirinovskiy said he does not doubt that he will win presidential election in the USSR which, in his opinion, will be held within the next 9 months.

He believes he will win over 50 percent of votes while his "main rivals"—Gorbachev, Sobchak and Travkin will get no more than 40 million votes. As Zhirinovskiy put it, "They are afraid of me and the election and they do everything to delay them".

The General Secretary of the Liberal Democratic Party of Estonia Henn Sarv has categorically denied any links with Zhirinovskiy's party.

H. Sarv told BF [BALTFAX]: "When he appeared on the political arena we thought it was a good joke, then we considered it a bad joke and now it does not seem a joke at all".

Republic, Swedish Police Crack Stolen Car Ring

OW0808031091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1620 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Estonian newspaper PAEVALEHT reports that the Estonian and Swedish police have arrested a group of criminals who were selling in the Soviet Union cars stolen in Sweden and other countries.

Some of the stolen cars have been confiscated and sent back to Sweden.

Latvia

U.S. Consul General Briefs Gorbunovs on Aid

OW0708183591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1620 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During a meeting with Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Anatoliy Gorbunovs which took place in Riga, the U.S. Consul-General in Leningrad Jack Gosnell said that the USA plans to give part of aid designed for the Soviet Union directly to the Baltic states.

Mr. Gorbunovs pointed out the importance of developing mutually beneficial cooperation through setting up a U.S. Trade Center in Latvia and other enterprises.

Republic Foreign Minister Says Policy Unchanged

LD0808090391 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans has reported on the foreign policy of the Republic of Latvia in the new government program, emphasizing that its basic aim, to ensure that the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Latvia by political and diplomatic means, has not changed. During the year, political experience has been gained. It is now clear that the Western attitude is bound to the development of dialogue between Latvia and the USSR. Therefore much effort must be devoted to concluding these talks, though the tactics of the USSR leadership in relation to the Baltic states is to keep the mutual conflicts of interests frozen. This way the actual dependence of Latvia on the USSR is being preserved. However, an essential change in the Eastern policy of the Republic of Latvia has been brought about by the development of Russia into an independent political force.

Economy Minister On Government's Economic Program

OW0808115391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1020 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In an interview with the newspaper "LATVIJAS JAUNATNE" Latvian Economy Minister Janis Aboltins said that with the introduction of free prices in the republic, producers obtained more freedom of choice. One of the most serious difficulties is that money issuance is not controlled by the government, he noted. Money is issued in Moscow, that is why industrial output declines when producers pass to free prices. There is no money shortage as a result of free issuance, therefore, in the opinion of the minister, producers have no incentive to work more effectively.

"While liberalizing prices, we will not freeze wage increases and by no means boost hyper-inflation," Janis Aboltins pointed out.

He also said that Latvia has positive trade-balances with all the republics except Lithuania.

Vaznis Meets USSR Interior Ministry Officials

OW0708230791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1100 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian Interior Minister Alois Vaznis arrived in Moscow on Tuesday for talks with the leadership of the USSR Interior Ministry. The same day he met the first deputy minister Ivan Shilov.

He told BF [BALTFAX] that the Latvian side wants the Press House in Riga captured by Black Berets to be cleared and Black Berets to be withdrawn from the republic. It also wants the USSR Interior Ministry to recognize that it cannot set up its own structures in Latvia.

According to Mr. Vaznis, an end to subordination to the USSR ministry "will not cost Latvia too much, however, it cannot afford to cooperate with Interpol or foreign police services at the moment."

He said his ministry intends to sign agreements on cooperation with counterparts in other republics. According to Vaznis, such an agreement with the Russian Federation will be signed later this month.

Interior Minister Departs for Talks in Germany

LD0808110891 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] Interior Minister Alois Vaznis has departed for Germany. He has meetings planned with industrialists and businessmen to discuss the possible drawing up of contracts for collaboration in the field of material and technical supplies for the Republic of Latvia's police. Proposals were made to the minister during his previous visit.

Parliamentary Opposition Group To Meet in Riga

OW0708152691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1310 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Representatives of parliamentary opposition groups from Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia advocating membership in USSR are to meet in Riga in two weeks. This has been reported by DIENA paper in Riga. An association of parliamentary oppositions of Baltic states is expected to be formed.

The head of the Ravnopravie (Equality) faction of the Latvian Parliament Sergey Dimanis told DIENA's reporter that it would be an organization similar to the Baltic Council uniting the leadership of the three republics, but "more oriented on practical matters".

Lithuania

Landsbergis Says Plot Launched Against Republic

LD0708175991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Svetlana Sorokina] Today's KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reports, citing the Lithuanian General Procuracy, that the only witness to the Medininkai tragedy has regained consciousness and started speaking. The Lithuanian permanent mission in Moscow did not confirm this report, but did give details of yet another incident in Vilnius. We will detail the events.

[Begin recording] [Reporter V. Barinov] Lithuania continues to see following the bloody events of 31 July at the Medininkai border post. The offices of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and the Committee for State Security in Vilnius are being picketed. The statement by a certain organization—SC, that is, Security Council, which has claimed responsibility for the killing—has provoked a broad response. [video shows angry crowds in the streets]

[Lithuanian President Landsbergis] We know an institution, a specific institution, that is capable of producing all sorts of false signs and groups in order to carry out the general policy and general order. I have already spoken on television and have warned people not to swallow this bait. The scheme is clear. Perhaps the trick will work, perhaps they will even succeed in preventing the ratification of the treaty between Lithuania and Russia. They are prepared to kill people. They know no limits; it is all the same to them how and who to kill. Who knows, maybe it has again been planned to start a Union-wide coup in the Baltics as was the case in January. [end recording]

Resolution To Strengthen Republic Borders Passed

OW0808112391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1020 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Government passed a resolution Wednesday ordering the republic's Interior Ministry and the police to organize temporary guarding of the most important customs posts in Lithuania.

The resolution says in case of necessity the Lithuanian Home Defense Department should distribute arms among its employees according to the rules established by the government.

Besides, the Lithuanian Home Defense Department, the Interior Ministry and the Customs Department should set up a working group to prepare a plan of interaction and cooperation between these three institutions and submit it to the government before August 20.

At the same time the resolution suspends the August 2 directive of the Home Defense Department General Director to give out arms to its employees because it contradicts a resolution adopted by the Lithuanian Government in May. It said that arms can be given out only by decision of the government.

Interior Ministry Spokesman on Investigation

LD0808102191 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 8 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Alexei Tabachnikov]

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—The only witness of the tragedy at the Lithuanian customs post of Medininkai began to regain consciousness, but it is too early for him to give evidence, Yuriy Tupilov, spokesman for the public relations centre of the Soviet Interior Ministry, told TASS today. He said that "the witness is still in a very grave condition, but medics hope that he will recover."

Tupikov said that at present he does not have information about the versions that are being worked out by a large group of officers of the Soviet Interior Ministry, the USSR Public Prosecutor's Office and the Soviet State Security Committee (KGB) jointly with republican law enforcement agencies. He only said that "the firing of weapons to identify cartridge cases, found on the scene of the crime, is over", but he refused to specify what types of weapons were used to murder the Lithuanian customs workers.

Speaking about cooperation between federal and republican authorities in the investgation of this crime, Tupikov pointed to "complete mutual understanding on this matter". Republican law enforcement agencies have sought greater cooperation with the Soviet Interior Ministry of late, he said.

Responding to the question about the picketing of the Vilnius base of the special militia units (OMON) planned for the end of the current week, Tupikov said that "the Soviet Interior Ministry is not planning any special measures and resolutions on this matter."

Border Post Officers May Receive Firearms

LD0708213191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Summary] Leonas Sabaliauskas, Lithuanian Government press spokesman, said that today a decision was made at the government sitting which says: "Implementing the decision of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania of 1 August, 1991 No. 1-655 concerning the reinforcement of the border posts of the Republic of Lithuania, to entrust the MVD with the task of urgently organizing the protection of the main border posts of Lithuania using the reserve of the Lithuanian police." [as heard]

He also said that until a separate decision is adopted by the Lithuanian Government the order of the director general of the Department for the Defence of the Country which says that "firearms are given to the officers of the department only on the decision of the Government of Lithuania" has been suspended.

Leonas Sabaliauskas said that the government has entrusted the Department for the Defence of the Country with the task "to take all the necessary measures to get ready to supply the border post officers with firearms if such a need arises in accordance with the proceedings defined by normative acts of the Lithuanian Government. The government must be regularly informed about the progress of the preparation."

Sajudis Urges OMON Soldiers To 'Withdraw'

LD0708215891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] The Seimas Council of the Lithuanian Sajudis movement has issued an appeal urging the people who serve in the special Soviet interior OMON [special purpose militia detatchment] unit stationed in Vilnius to withdraw from their service.

The appeal also calls on the people of Lithuania to hold a three day peaceful picket of protest at the OMON headquarters in Vilnius.

The acts of protest themselves are going to start at 11 AM Saturday and end with a mass meeting at 5 PM Sunday.

The Sajudis Seimas Council has also called on the residents of border districts to visit the customs control checkpoints and provide the customs officers with moral support.

As to the forthcoming picket at the OMON headquarters in Vilnius, the first to respond were the best friends of the Black Berets here in Lithuania—the pro-Moscow Communists.

Their leaders called for a [word indistinct] picket of support at the same time and at the same place this weekend.

Military District Denies Involvement in Attack

PM0708101391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 91 Union Edition p 2

["Direct Line" report by Irina Litvinova: "Statement by Military Council"]

[Text] Riga—The Baltic Military District Military Council has claimed that Army structures had nothing whatever to do with the "bandit action" carried out at the customs post near the Lithuanian settlement of Medininkai.

The Military Council expressed its condolences to the families of the dead Lithuanian citizens, who were innocent victims. At the same time the statement expresses a protest against attempts by Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman V. Landsbergis to once again place responsibility for what happened on the USSR Armed Forces and Ministry of Internal Affairs.

"This terrorist act," the statement says, "is already being exploited as a pretext and a 'weighty argument' for whipping up anti-Soviet hysteria and an anti-Army psychosis not only in the Baltic region but also in other Union republics." The Military Council suggested that it was no accident that the tragedy was preceded by two weeks of concentrated propaganda by news agencies, consisting of rumors about allegedly imminent attacks on Lithuanian installations by military personnel dressed as civilians, and even about an imminent military coup in the republic.

The Military Council demanded a very fast and objective investigation into the terrorist act and the punishment of the culprits with the full rigor of Soviet law. In a telegram to the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet and Government, the Military Council communicated its readiness to give all the help it could in the investigation of the crime that has been committed.

Republic Signs Cooperation Accord With CSFR

OW0508235691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2119 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Soviet Business Report; transmitted via Kyodo]

[Text] An inter-governmental agreement on cooperation between Lithuania and Czechoslovakia was signed in Vilnius on Saturday. "BALTFAX" reports that the agreement foresees the establishment of most favoured nation trading status between the two countries.

Lithuania intends to purchase trolleybuses, heavy goods vehicles, mini-tractors, medicine, shoes, everyday tele- and radio equipment and other goods from Czechoslovakia. For its part, Czechoslovakia will receive furniture, mineral fertilizer, cement, metal-working lathes, electromotives and kinoscopes.

On Monday Lithuania also signed an economic and trade agreement with Iceland which defined the basis for the development of cooperation between the two states. The document does not specify the volume of the mutal delivery of goods which may be exchanged. The cooperation will take place exclusively between interested firms and companies in Lithuania and Iceland.

More on Trade Agreements With CSFR

LD0308235791 Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 3 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow August 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Ambassador to the Soviet Union Rudolf Slansky and Lithuanian Deputy Premier Vytautas Pakalniskis signed an inter-governmental agreement on economic relations and scientific-technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Lithuania in Vilnius today.

They also signed a protocol containing lists of goods which will be exchanged between the two sides this year.

Slansky signed similar agreements on Friday with Estonian Economics Minister Jaak Leimann in Tallin and Latvian Deputy Premier Arnis Kalnins in Riga. Czechoslovakia is the first state to sign trade and economy agreements with the three Baltic states.

The documents provide for economic cooperation based on reforms in Czechoslovakia and the Baltic states. Goods will be sold at world prices and for convertible currency. Direct economic cooperation is to take place between enterprises.

Czechoslovakia earlier signed similar accords with the Russian Federation, Belorussia and the Ukraine.

During his brief visit to Lithuania today Slansky met with Lithuanian Parliament President Vytautas Landsbergis and Premier Gediminas Vagnorius. They discussed political developments and economic reforms in Czechoslovakia and Lithuania.

Economic Agreement With Iceland To Be Signed

LD0508131191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Excerpt] An economic and trade agreement is to be signed between Lithuania and Iceland. The Information Service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania has announced that an economic and trade agreement between Lithuania and Iceland will be signed this afternoon at 1500. [passage omitted]

Further on Agreement With Iceland

OW0508224391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1615 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Text] Lithuania and Iceland signed a trade agreement August 5 in Vilnius. An Icelandic delegation was led by Minister-Adviser to the Icelandic Foreign Ministry trade department Svein Bjornsson and a Lithuanian one—by Deputy Foreign Ministry Romutis Grizas.

Before signing the agreement Mr. Bjornsson told BF [BALTFAX] that it is of "general character" indicating neither kinds of goods nor their quantity. In his words, it is "simply a framework for future trade agreements". He pointed out that Icelandic firms themselves will decide whether to deal with Lithuania or not.

Mr. Bjornsson said that Iceland could sell Lithuania fish, aluminium products, medical equipment and food industry technology. However, he noted, Iceland has not yet received any concrete proposals from Lithuania about what it can offer for sale. "Iceland imports almost everything and it could receive from Lithuania furniture, vegetables, etc."

Mr. Bjornsson assessed Lithuania's trade posibilities as "very slim". In his opinion, trade will begin no sooner than next year, partly, because of hard currency shortage in Lithuania.

Iceland Official Comments

LD0508222291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Text] In Vilnius, Lithuania and Iceland have today signed an agreement on economic and trade cooperation, (?thus) in effect is the continuation of two analogous Lithuanian-Iceland agreements concluded in between the two world wars.

(Svend Jonsson) director of the economic department of Iceland's Foreign Affairs Ministry, tells Radio Vilnius that the signed treaty is of a very general character and does not make mention of either concrete goods or their amounts to be traded. According to Mr. (Svend Jonsson), Lithuania has little possibility for exporting its goods because of a lack of hard currency and still existing Soviet legislative control over Lithuania's contacts with foreign countries.

Officials Welcome Dalai Lama's Representative

LD0708032791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Dr. (Nawanga Rabiali), representative of the Dalai Lama—senior lamaistic spiritual leader of Tibet—and deputy secretary for East European and USSR affairs, arrived in Lithuania to discuss the date of the Dalai Lama's visit to Lithuania and possibly its schedule. [passage omitted]

The Baltic states' situation has resembled Tibet's current situation for quite some time, which is why we are especially interested in this question, he said.

(Nawanga Rabiali), the Dalai Lama's representative, was received by Bronius Kuzmickas, deputy chairman of the Republic of Lithuania's Supreme Council. The visitor also met with Emanuelis Zingeris, chairman of the Supreme Council Foreign Affairs Commission.

New Republic Political Organization Reported

LD0708214591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] A new political amalgamation, "Front for the Nation's Independence," has been set up in Kaunas. LLL Kaunas branch, the "Jaunoji Lietuva," the Lithuanian national young people's union, Kaunas workers' union, the Republican Party, the Union of Landowners of Lithuania, and the Political Prisoners' Club-58 are willing to become full members of the new political amalgamation.

The Front invites everybody who is prepared to fight for the implementation of the independence of Lithuanian to participate in its activity.

Republic Home Defense Employee Interviewed

OW0508050191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The newspaper "LIETUVOS AIDAS" has published an interview granted by Virgaudas Jakutevicius, an employee of the Lithuanian Home Defense Department, who in the period from March through July 1991 has worked as a legal expert at the Lithuanian TV Center occupied by the military, performing an intelligence mission of the Department.

Mr. Jakutevicius says: "In early spring there were TV sets, telephones, calculators, computers, carpets and furniture in many rooms of the TV Center. Now everything has been robbed."

He also says soldiers guarding the building are simply unaware of the situation in Lithuania, "they are scared to death by officers who are talking about the alleged serious danger to their lives."

Mr. Jakutevicius confirms that new employees of the TV Center are mostly office-cleaners, type-writers, drivers and other technical personnel while there are few creative workers. He notes that most of the newcomers have been layed off from their previous jobs and having no choice came to the TV Center. According to Mr. Jakutevicius' estimates, nearly 400 persons currently work at the TV Center and at the radio station "Soviet Lithuania" located in one of the military units. He also says Chairman of the USSR Gosteleradio (State Radio and TV Company) L. Kravchenko has sent to Vilnius a group of technical workers from Moscow. However, Mr. Jakutevicius says, many of them have already returned.

More on Representative's Comments

LD0308011191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 2 Aug 91

[Text] Beginning 1 March, Virgaudas Jakutevicius, a Lithuanian Defense Department staff member, worked as a legal consultant at the occupied Vilnius Television and Radio Center for five months while carrying out a Defense Department surveillance assignment. He says approximately 400 people are employed at the radio and television facility, which bears the name of Soviet Lithuania. All of the propaganda [word indistinct] of this institution is being financed by Moscow Communist Party funds. The occupied radio and television building has been cruelly plundered and continues to be pillaged.

Republic Court Hears Trade Union Property Case

LD0608093391 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 6 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 6 TASS—"The property of trade unions has already been nationalized," representative of Lithuania's State Control Department Patras Grebeliauskas told a court hearing on Monday.

Spurred by a heated debate, he said too much or vented his wishful thinking, a fact he recognised when asked by TASS during a recession to name a decree or an act on property nationalization. None has been issued or announced as coming.

But the desire of the Lithuanian authorities to expropriate trade union property and consequently squash this one-million-strong organisation is an open secret.

A year ago the republic's Parliament proclaimed the then operating trade unions "not public but state" organisations and actually imposed an arrest on trade union property.

It was decided to "take the stock" and establish the sources of property. Inspection was entrusted to the State Control Department headed by Kazimieras Uoka, the godfather and actual leader of the competing Union of Lithuania's Workers, which claims the role of trade unions for itself.

Mere inspection was not enough for the authorities. Attempts were made to transfer tens of trade union health-and-recreation centres to newly-created firms. The republican trade union house of culture has been announced as ready for the transfer, and even the building of the republican committee of the confederation of free trade unions has been occupied—without the owner's consent a considerable part of the building has been turned into National Guard barracks.

In June, Chairman of the republican trade union council Ceslovas Visakavicius and the leaders of eight sectoral republican committees faced a court trial charged with the failure to conform to law. But the court turned down the suit filed by representatives of the State Control Department and proclaimed its ruling "final and not subject to appeal". However, under pressure from the Union of Lithuania's Workers, Chairman of Lithuania's Supreme Court Mindaugas Losis returned the case for reexamination by other judges.

But attempts by a representative of the State Control Department victimize Ceslovas Visakavicius have proved futile once again. There is, however, little hope that those who seek to expropriate, distribute and redistribute what they did not make will give up their attempts.

Further Reportage on, Reaction to RCP Plenum

News Conference Detailed

LD0708184991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Report by N. Svanidze on news conference held by the leadership of the Russian Communist Party and unidentified reporters; date and place not given; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Throughout my life, I have always been governed first and foremost by the interests of the Communist Party, Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov reiterated in his address to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party [RCP]. He probably said this in all sincerity. It really was the interests of the party that demanded his resignation. Valentin Kuptsov has been elected first secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party—a politician not noted for extremes, and as far as it is possible to judge, one who is fairly loyal to the general secretary.

Aleksandr Rutskoy, the leader of the Democratic Communists, and his comrades have been excluded from the Communist Party. He drew their fire by his demands for fundamental changes in the program and policy of the RCP and by his aim, in the case of a split, to assume the Communist inheritance. Now the question is how actively can Communists who are democratically inclined come to the defense of their leader and his platform? If there are three or four million of them as Rutskoy hoped when he founded the movement, then how the matter will develop can in no way be predicted. Kuptsov's election can be seen as a victory for the moderates in the RCP who are hoping to survive without adopting aggressive stances and by remaining loyal to the wavering of the general secretary's course.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] What is your attitude to the activities of the General Secretary and President Gorbachev?

[Kuptsov] My relations have first and foremost proved to be working, business-like, and creative, and anything that does not work out is brought up in the politburo with the general secretary. I voted for him to remain as general secretary at the last plenum.

[Svanidze] The leadership of the RCP headed by Valentin Kuptsov, its new first secretary, held a news conference today. The main impression gained from the replies to the media given by the leaders of Russia's Communists can be describe as follows: The RCP is changing its style. It is putting itself forward as striving towards democratization and the market, and it has its own historical optimism regarding cooperation with Yeltsin.

[I. Antonovich, secretary of the RCP Central Committee] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin has changed his political views a little at the age of 51. It is not possible for a person formed by the Communist Party to change his mentality completely without some fairly good bases remaining for constructive cooperation within the framework of the legal Constitution. Our prediction regarding cooperation is an optimistic one.

[Svanidze] Emotional Zuganov, amicable Kuptsov, and eloquent Antonovich—the modest appeal of the RCP. [video shows Zuganov, Kuptsov, and Antonov seated on a podium] [end recording]

Zyuganov Disscusses Plenum

LD0708160291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1306 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] [Announcer] A press conference devoted to the results of the plenum of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party Central Committee was held today. You can read in greater detail about the plenum in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, but I would remind you that the plenum accepted Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov's request and released him from his duties as first secretary and member of the Central Committee Politburo in connection with his transfer to other work. Valentin Aleksandrovich Kuptsov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee was elected first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee and member of the Central Committee Politburo.

And now for an interview with Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee:

[Begin recording] [unidentified interviewer] Gennadiy Andreyevich, even a week ago it was known that the question of replacing the leader of the Russian CP would be examined. And yet, Polozkov said that he would remain in his post. We now have the typical, well known formulation: In connection with his transfer to other work. If it is not a secret, what is this other work, and why such a difference of views?

[Zyuganov] He weighed the whole situation that is emerging around the republican party organization, and the one that is currently emerging is extremely difficult. All of this taken together actually predetermined his decision that in these extremely difficult conditions a leadership change is essential. I think that Ivan Kuzmich embarked on this decision courageously, quite consciously, and the plenum supported it, unanimously in fact.

[Interviewer] Wasn't he sharply criticized? After all, we don't know what happened at the plenum.

[Zyuganov] No. Moreover, the plenum, on behalf of many of the delegations, members of the Central Committee, said kind words about him, for the fact that he had been at the origins of the formation of the Russian republican party organization, and for the fact that this process was, in general terms, continuing, albeit painfully, and he had taken an immense onslaught from, primarily, the left radical press, which quite often and without any foundation tried to shape the image purely of a conservative. This man is gifted with fine abilities, he has a pretty good knowledge of economics, particularly the economics of agriculture. It is anticipated that he will be using this knowledge in the Ministry of Agriculture as a deputy leader of the ministry.

[Interviewer] I also heard that three candidacies were examined for the new post—Prokofyev, you, and Kuptsov. Kuptsov's candidacy won. Why Kuptsov in particular? A few words about him.

[Zyuganov] Yes, these three candidacies were nominated, Prokofyev and I stood down....

[Interviewer interrupts] In favor of Kuptsov?

[Zyuganov] We stood down, and we had our grounds for this. Prokofyev said bluntly that the Moscow party organization, which numbers more than 800,000 Communists and is one of the largest, leading party organizations, was also in a difficult situation at present, and a leadership change in Moscow just now could lead to a deterioration in the situation in the capital's party organization. As for myself, I currently believe that the first leader should have a good knowledge of the problems of the economy's development, have a rich experience in production, and in this regard Kuptsov has broader training. He has worked at the Cherepovets metallurgical combine as a worker, a metallurgist, an organizer of production. And so, following a vote Valentin Aleksandrovich Kuptsov was elected First Secretary of the Russian CP Central Committee and member of the Politburo.

[Interviewer] In the view of a number of experts, if Rutskoy's group were to be removed from the Central Committee, the subsequent fate of the Russian CP would have the bleakest outlook. Nevertheless, the decision was made. On the one hand, Kuptsov appeared, and on the other hand, Lipetskiy, Rutskoy, and Protasenko were removed.

[Zyuganov] No party, believe me—I understand these things very well—will ever maintain in its ranks those who, within the framework of the party, set up a new party, with its own rules, its own program—no western party would ever tolerate this for a single day. And so, the question of whether Rutskoy, Lipetskiy, and Protasenko should be in the Russian CP or not, was their own personal question, their own personal right to have their beliefs, to defend them, and it is the right of any party to preserve the unity of its ranks on the basis of the rules and program it has adopted. This does not in any way restrict plurality of views in the party. And for this reason the decision on Lipetskiy, Rutskoy, and Protasenko, both to remove them from the Central Committee and to expel them, was virtually unanimous. [end rcording]

Kuptsov Holds News Conference

LD0708203691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] As you know, Valentin Ivanovich Kuptsov has become the new leader of Russian Communists as a result of the voting at yesterday's Russian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee plenum. He held a news conference in Moscow today. So who is he, this new leader who is called an unknown politician for the country by much of the foreign media.

[R. Oganesov] The meeting between the new leader of Russian Communists and journalists was devoted to the results of the recent RCP plenum. According to Valentin Kuptsov, the plenum was constructive and interesting. Decisions were made after sharp discussions. He reported that the plenum's participants discussed the political situation in the republic, which has changed after the election of the Russian president, and he stressed that Russian Communists recognize the popularly elected authorities and are prepared to cooperate with the Russian Government and president. Apart from this, Valentin Kuptsov noted that the party will be open for contacts with other parties and movements. He informed journalists about the plenum decision to hold a second RCP congress in December or January, after the 29th CPSU extraordinary congress. He also spoke about the support with an absolute majority of votes for the secretariat decision on the illegal creation of the Democratic Party of Russian Communists. Valentin Kuptsov denied the statement that the expulsion of Rutskoy and Lipetskiy from the party violates CPSU rules. Defining today's tasks Valentin Kuptsov said:

[Begin Kuptsov recording] The major issues that interest us today are, I repeat once again, the new conditions for the party's work, the new political situation, the work of the party in departyization, the party's work in—let's put it this way—the beginning of the principal approaches or the transfer period to market mechanisms—all this forces us to seek new forms of work. [end recording]

[Oganesov] In conclusion, Valentin Kuptsov noted that the activites of the RCP will be based on the defense of the interests of working people.

Promises Tolerance of Other Parties

OW0708180391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mr. Valentin Kuptsov, the newly elected Russian Communist Party [RCP] leader, promised at Wednesday's press-conference in Moscow to "be as tolerant as possible to other parties and movements". Mr Kuptsov, elected first secretary by the RCP Central Committee plenary session the day before, said he would try to find acceptable forms of cooperation both with them and with the popularly elected president.

With regard to Mr Yeltsin's decree banning political activity at the workplace, he described this decision as hasty and inconsistent with the Soviet and Russian Constitutions. Meanwhile, the RCP is bracing for a new situation, Mr. Kuptsov said.

When asked by an IF [INTERFAX] correspondent if a split in his party is a possibility, he said "he would work for the strongest possible unity in the Communist Party but not at any cost". Commenting on Mr. Aleksandr Rutskoy's statement that 5 m [million] communists will join his Democratic party of Russia's Communists Mr. Kuptsov dismissed it as "over optimistic assessment by an inexperienced leader".

Views Links With State

LD0708154891 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—Valentin Kuptsov, the new Russian Communist Party chief elected by the party Central Committee plenary meeting on Wednesday to replace Ivan Polozkov who stepped down from the post, told a news conference devoted to the results of the plenary meeting that his main task was to establish "good, business-like contacts with the new bodies of Russia's state authority".

The newly-elected first secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee admitted that as regards the Russian Communist Party, the political situation changed a considerable degree following the presidential elections in Russia on June 12. He said the Russian Communist Party "recognizes the results of the elections and the authorities elected by the people", and expressed readiness to cooperate with these authorities on all problems relating to economic transformations and the protection of people's interests.

Kuptsov noted that party work under new conditions required new forms of activity. He said he intended to bring to the party leadership "greater cooperation with other political parties and movements".

"In our practical work, we shall be looking for forms of cooperation with the president, the government and the Supreme Soviet," Valentin Kuptsov said.

As regards the recent founding conference of the Democratic Party of Russian Communists (DPCR), Kuptsov stressed that the plenary meeting had supported by an overwhelming majority the resolution by the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat which pointed to the unlawful character of establishing a second party within the Soviet Communist Party. "This is our common point of view," he added.

Boris Yeltsin's presidential decree on the departyization, Kuptsov said, "caused considerable turmoil in the activity of party organizations". But, Kuptsov noted, the party leadership believes that the decree was "adopted in contravention of the constitutions of the USSR and the Russian Federation, the law on public associations and international acts".

"We also believe," he said, "that the decree was prepared too hastily, but, acting with the constitutional framework, we shall prepare for work under departyization".

The Russian Communist Party chief noted the impossibility for the party to undertake "illegal actions". He stressed that the party would use every opportunity granted in the constitution to convince people of the unlawfulness of the decree.

Biography of Kuptsov Cited

LD0808080891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Valentin Kuptsov's biography is quite typical for his generation of party functionaries: born in a peasant family in 1937 in Vologda Oblast, after the army he enrolled at Cherepovets metallurgical combine; at 29 he graduated from the Northwest Correspondence Polytechnical Institute. At the same time he became a CPSU member and began to move up along the narrow corridors of the party hierarchy, first, the plant party committee, then the city committee, finally, in 1985, he became first secretary of the Vologda Oblast Committee.

Kuptsov was directly connected with the formation of the Russian Communist Party. He was among those who prepared its founding congress, at which he was proposed as candidate for first secretary. However, in the first round [words indistinct] to Polozkov.

In his pre-election speech, apart from the general points, there were expression of loyalty to both the CPSU Central Committee and the new Russian Government. One recalls his answer when asked about his attitude toward Yeltsin: I worked with him for three days on the installation at Cherepovets combine, Valentin Kuptsov said, I remember him as a very firm manager, with a good knowledge of the technical side of the business.

In the past year Kuptsov has been a CPSU secretary in charge of relations with other organizations. In May he delivered sharp criticism of the opposition on the pages of the CPSU Central Committee News, having accused "the so-called democrats" of excessive ambition and denial of socialist values. Very recently, at the Central Committee July plenum, he declared that the main slogan of the current stage is to defend the unity of CPSU.

To judge by his very few publications in the press, Valentin Kuptsov is a man careful in his pronouncements, who prefers to say nothing rather than to say something that could attract excessive interests.

Rutskoy Comments on RCP Plenum, Expulsion

Claims Expulsion Invalid

OW0708180791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vice-president of the Russian federation Mr. Aleksandr Rutskoy said at a press-conference in Moscow on Wednesday he did not consider himself expelled from the CPSU. The Tuesday's decision by the RCP [Russian Communist Party] Central Committee is contrary to the CPSU rules whereby only a cell where he is registered may expel him from the party. The party organisation of the Air Force political department of which Mr. Rutskoy is a member was to hold a meeting on Wednesday at 18:00.

Mr. Rutskoy is going to challenge the Central Committee's decision which, he said, is intended to intimidate Russian communists not to allow them to join the Democratic party of Russia's communists.

In his comments on the change in the RCP's leadership he said it was an futile attempt to save the RCP. "Those communists who favour democracy will quit it anyway". Mr. Rutskoy said the decision to expel him and Vasiliy Lipetskiy was masterminded by the RCP Central Committee secretaries Zyuganov, Antonovich, Prigarko and Polozkov himself.

Mr. Rutskoy expressed his hope the CPSU general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev would personally deal with this problem and take a fair decision.

To Appeal to Central Control Commission

LD0708214891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2005 GMT 7 Aug 91

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Two hours ago Aleksandr Rutskoy called us and said that today the primary party organization of the political directorate of the Air Force where he is registered had practically unanimously, with three abstentions, expelled him from the CPSU. The vice president of Russia told us that he intends to appeal to the CPSU Central Control Commission about the unlawfulness of the meeting's decision.

'I Remain a Communist'

LD0708194291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Interview with Aleksandr Rutskoy, vice president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given; from the "Vesti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, are you very frightened by the resolution of the RCP [Russian Communist Party] Central Committee plenum on your exclusion from the CPSU?

[Rutskoy] You know, I am not so much frightened, rather, it is unpleasant. It is unpleasant for one reason. I have, after all, been a member of the CPSU for 21 years. For all of my conscious existence, or rather for most of my conscious existence, I served in the army and the fact that the plenum of the RCP Central Committee—without understanding the democratic changes which we support—have seen things in such a way that the best way to influence the democrat, the reformer Rutskoy is to exclude him from the CPSU once again simply shows their short-sightedness, the short-term intellect of those people who spoke in favor of this, and the short-sightedness of those people who voted in favor.

Moreover, I have always loved Nikolay Vasilyevich Gogol [19th century author who satirized officialdom] for some reason, you see, because he is still relevant to what is going on here at the present time. You see there really are two things wrong here in Russia: the roads and the fools, do you see? Therefore, this is usually the case—I was a Communist, and I remain a Communist, and the fact that idiots voted for something, well... let that remain their right.

Predicts High Membership for New Party

OW0708203491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference Wednesday, the Russian Vice-President and leader of the Democratic Party of Russian Communists (DPRC) entering the CPSU Aleksandr Rutskoy said that his expulsion from the CPSU announced at the Russian Communist Party's plenary meeting is an attempt to intimidate the democratically-minded Communists. In his opinion, this attempt will not prevent the DPRC from becoming a strong party with millions of members.

Mr. Rutskoy said that he had supposed his exclusion from the Russian Communist Party (RCP) Central Committee [CC] along with the other DPRC founder, Vasiliy Lipetskiy, but "could not imagine that they can ever take such an absurd step as the expulsion from the CPSU."

Mr. Rutskoy told reporters that before setting up the DPRC he had meetings with the RCP CC Secretary Mr. Ilyin who proposed to confine themselves to creating a movement. However, Mr. Rutskoy pointed out, the DPRC had been designed as an alternative party, as he put it, to the "unconstitutional" RCP.

The DPRC has submitted its application for registration to the Russian Justice Ministry. According to Mr. Rutskoy, Russian President Boris Yeltsin has welcomed its creation.

The DPRC has been set up in full compliance with laws, though there were some contradictions with the CPSU Regulations, Mr. Rutskoy pointed out. "If the CPSU CC does not recognize us, we keep the right to leave the CPSU and form a new party." In case it breaks away from the CPSU, the new party will remove the word "Communist" from its name.

Mr. Rutskoy is unwilling to head the party since he cannot combine that post with Russian Vice-Presidency. He said that the DPRC leadership has offered Chairman of the RCP Central Controlling Commission Nikolay Stolyarov to lead the party but has not yet received his answer.

The DPRC Council is to meet today to decide whether it will come out with an assessment of Rutskoy's and Lipetskiy's expulsion from the CPSU and if yes, in what form it will make it.

Yeltsin Continues Visit to Tyumen Oblast

Objectives of Visit Cited

PM0708141991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[Unattributed report from the "IZVESTIYA, TASS, INTERFAX, IAN, REUTERS, UPI" column: "B. Yeltsin in Tyumen Oblast"]

[Text] Russian President B. Yeltsin arrived in Tyumen Oblast on the evening of 5 August.

Talking about the aims of his visit, he highlighted four main points. Above all, it is important to resolve social issues which have been left in the background for many years. Moreover, a new problem is being exacerbated. This is the nationalities problem, which for some reason was not usually discussed in an oblast where there are two autonomous okrugs. The third area is the complex relationship with the Union ministries—Russia and the oblast will have to jointly strive for clarity in this area. And, finally, the most important subject is the West Siberian region's intention to acquire special economic zone status.

Visits Salekhard City

PM0708132591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by correspondents Nikolay Dudnikov and Vladimir Yefimov: "Glitter and Poverty of Salekhard"]

[Text] Salekhard, the capital of Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug, yesterday received Russian President Boris Yeltsin for the first time. His arrival here is linked with hopes for fundamental changes in the development of the very rich region. Some 540 million cubic meters of gas, 130,000 quintals of fish, furs worth over 4.5 million rubles—that is its annual contribution. But the living standard here is lower than the average for the republic.

From the airport, where he had one of several warm meetings with the city's inhabitants, the president went to the Salekhard fish canning plant, which recently celebrated its 60th anniversary. The enterprise, which processes only gourmet river fish, is housed in shops constructed in the thirties and is entering the market economy with a deficit of 5 million rubles.

Addressing a conference at the okrug soviet, Boris Yeltsin said:

"My acquaintance with Salekhard has left a grave impression. People have been living for 20 years in makeshift houses. The northerners' wages have been comparable with the wages in southern regions. And the leaders of the city and okrug have not been seen to take steps to protect the population. But we shall undertake resolute actions to improve the situation because, I emphasize, the main task is the protection of people's interests."

After the conference in Salekhard the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president left for the oil workers' city of Noyabrsk.

Discusses Oil Sales

LD0708140491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 Aug 91

[By Russian Radio correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin is continuing his tour of western Siberia. Our special correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov will tell us about it.

[Osipov] After concluding and signing the new Union treaty, the Russian leadership intends to reach an accord with the republics of the USSR on raising the domestic price of oil and gas. Those republics that do not join the Union, however, will be sold oil at world prices. Currently, this price is something of the order of $180 per tonne. This was stated by Boris Yeltsin while conversing with oil workers of the Kholmogory oil field in Tyumen Oblast. In the morning Boris Yeltsin also inspected facilities for the production of oil equipment and subsidiary farms in the town of Noyabrsk.

The Russian president advocated local leaders making wider use of the output of greenhouse farms growing vegetables. I have to say that during these meetings with workers and oil drillers, the latter expressed dissatisfaction to Boris Yeltsin with the resolution of housing and everyday problems in the Siberian region. The workers complained that the local leaders feed them with promises, while in some settlements there is not even any hot water. After his tour, Boris Yeltsin held a conference with the leaders of the town of Noyabrsk and of the oil fields. Journalists were not invited to the conference, but it is known that important matters are being discussed concerning the development of Tyumen Oblast, the center of Russia's oil and gas industry. In the evening Boris Yeltsin will arrive in Khantiy-Mansiysk.

Meets Noyabrsk Oil Workers

LD0708232291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2010 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Report by Correspondent S. Fateyev; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The Noyabrsk oil and gas region in the Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Okrug has been considered one of the most promising, but it is not without its problems. What is the main reason for the crisis? A search for answers to these questions took place in the conversations and meetings of Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, who is currently on a visit to the Tyumen north.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Russia is taking these industries under Russian jurisdiction—that's the first thing. Second, it will provide a number of benefits so that all producers will have a direct interest in increasing the extraction of oil and gas. This is the first thing that we shall be doing. Of course, we shall be paying greater attention to it and to all other questions, questions of housing and the social sphere, because people today are simply living in poverty. I believe we simply have no other way out. The supplies are here, and we simply must get at them. [end recording]

The northerners are a courageous and patient people; they are trying in conditions of a general shortage to make their lives in these harsh areas more tolerable. The oilworkers are setting up private plots and seeking opportunities for beneficial barter deals and tackling other social issues, but without firm guarantees on the part of the state on the granting of full independence to enterprises in the industry and territories, a qualitatively new stage in the development of this major fuel and energy complex will hardly be possible. [Video shows a pan shot of the complex; Yeltsin talking to correspondents as he walks around the area and then samples a tomato]

[Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian at 1400 GMT on 7 August carries a similar report that adds:

"He [Yeltsin] assured that in the next few days a special decree on Tyumen Oblast will be adopted. In accordance with it, oil-extracting enterprises will be able to dispose of 30 percent of the fuel they extract independently. Other benefits are also envisaged."]

Promises Solution to Problems

OW0708203391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin, the President of the Russian federation, is continuing his trip around the Tyumen region. On Wednesday he stayed in the Khanty-Mansiysk national district meeting regional council deputies. The regional council chairman, Mr. Valeriy Churilov, pointed out that a lot of the district's problems remain unsolved. He asked the Russian president to pay special attention to the problems of survival and the standard of living among small ethnic groups of the North.

A decline in oil and natural gas production has added to the district's difficulties. Local authorities hope to improve the situation by demonopolising the industry, privatising enterprises and raising oil prices to world levels.

Mr. Yeltsin said it might prove impossible to sign a decree on the West Siberian area on Thursday as he had expected to do, for too may additional problems emerged during his trip. "Every day I answer over 50 questions" he said. Nevertheless, Mr Yeltsin said he was in a decisive mood to solve regional problems. A law on small ethnic groups of the North has effectively been finalised, and a development fund for small ethnic groups of the North is planned to be set up, he said.

On Wednesday Boris Yeltsin arrived in Neftyugansk.

Impact of Departyization Decree Pondered

PM0708092391 Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No. 30, Jul 91 (signed to press 23 Jul) p 9

["Comments" by Sergey Kovalev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Committee for Human Rights, "transcribed" by Lev Yelin: "They Have Fallen Prey to the Decree"]

[Text] The power structures of the past are still very powerful and effective. Untill now, executive power in Russia could realistically do very little, due precisely to the resistance by these old structures. Obkoms [oblast party committees] are in charge of raykoms [rayon party committees], and raykoms send their instructions around the party organizations. And party decisions turn out to be mandatory for party members holding official positions.... No reforms are possible unless such illegal meddling by ideological institutions into the state's practical business is ruled out. In any civilized country, a state official is subordinate only to the state's vertical power structures. We remain one of the sad exceptions.... In general the necessity for such a decree is obvious: State power should make its own officials subordinate to itself!

Boris Yeltsin's Decree No. 2 is both logical and constitutional. Whereas the new edition of Article 6 of the USSR Constitution nonetheless mentions the CPSU, thus indirectly underlining its privileged position, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Constitution does not say a single word about the communist party. And the recently adopted Law on the Militia bluntly enshrines the provision about the Russian militia's departyization.

Russia's president resolutely exercised his new powers by publishing this decree, which is of fundamental importance, just a few days after his inauguration. Time is of the essence. Too little time has been allowed for reforms.... I think that the present RSFSR Supreme Soviet would not be capable of making such a controversial political decision.

RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee ideologists state that the decree's promulgation directly before the plenums of "Polozkov's men" and of the CPSU Central Committee is a "trial balloon of confrontation." Was it really necessary to drive the ideological opponent into a corner on the eve of an unavoidable split? And maybe even to rally his ranks by a certain feeling of being under threat?

There is no denying that Yeltsin's decree, in accordance with the laws of political struggle, is provoking countermeasures, a kind of self-defense by party members. But there is, after all, another danger which is the opposite to this: Inertia by the new executive power may engender a premeditated, considered, but disguised opposition by the communist party. Yeltsin's decree is, if you like, an outright challenge. A resolute challenge. But a challenge in the spirit of the times and the spirit of the law. There may well be doubts whether the right moment has been chosen from the tactical point of view, but I personally sympathize profoundly with the Russian president's adoption of such an open stance. Especially since Yeltsin is actually expected to take decisive steps. The opponents are expecting this, and so are the voters.

The people did not elect a president to do nothing—this factor should never be forgotten. When unavoidable and yet unpopular economic measures lie in store, it is necessary to continually justify and maintain the voters' trust.

All the president's men will not be able to quickly raise our standard of living or fill up the stores. In this situation, it is necessary to make political decisions—and this does not take much to set in motion. The main obstacle on the road to reform is obvious to each Russian voter, even to the most benighted one. If Yeltsin had tarried in announcing "I am not one of you any more!" this would have raised doubts as to his inclination to maneuver and strike deals....

I find it difficult to reply at the moment whether the Russian presidential Decree will come fully into play, or whether the party will be able to block it. But it is senseless to promulgate such decrees without expecting to enforce their implementation. I think that this decree is not the last.... A reform of the executive power is being prepared, and apart from this Yeltsin is clearly banking on the Russian people's support. For the time being there is strong trust in the president and even some euphoria surrounding the presidential power—just let the party committees try and stay in the enterprises! This looks like counting on trust in return for trust. You entrusted me, Yeltsin tells his voters, with the post of president, and I in turn trust you—you make the party leaders bow to my decision.... So that Decree No. 2 is to a certain degree an appeal to the voters, to the republic's citizens.

I expect that, although the decree provides that former full-time party committee workers will be found jobs (they will have to remember what diplomas they received once upon a time), infringements on Communists' civil rights are possible. In such cases, our committee will have to adopt a stance which is unpopular with the masses, but the only one we can take: To defend these people's rights.... As a matter of fact, I said a long time ago: The time will come when those civil rights campaigners of the 60's and 70's will have to defend Communists....

Naturally, the decree does not affect such powerful Union structures as the Army, the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and the USSR KGB where the party organizations retain their former power. The Russian president has instructed the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to consider the question of submitting a corresponding draft law at the Union parliament. However, I find it hard to imagine the present USSR Supreme Soviet responding to such an initiative. It seems to me that the greatest danger of confrontation resides in this point.... Whatever happens, this will be a struggle not of political decisions, but of legislations. No one can make references to decisions by the Central Committee or the Council of People's Commissars any more—incidentally, Yeltsin's decree mentions the abrogation of their unlawful decisions. And how then can anyone complain about the decree?

But can the Union Supreme Soviet hold up this process for long? Let us remember that there will be reelections. And the Union parliamentarians' attitude toward Yeltsin's decree on departyization may be the litmus test for voters. Resisting departyization may turn out to be a step toward losing the election. So that Decree No. 2 possesses far reaching consequences....

Further on Decree

PM0708105191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Aug 91 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Article by Ya. Dzenitis, USSR deputy general prosecutor and state justice adviser first class: "Perestroyka and Democracy Are Indivisible; RSFSR President's Decree on Departyization Ignores Basic Legal Criteria;"]

[Text] On 20 July this year the USSR and union republic mass media published the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] president's decree "on the suspension of the activity of the organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in the state organs, institutions, and organizations of the RSFSR."

Article seven of this decree envisages that it comes into force 14 days after its publication, that is 4 August 1991. The attempt by the USSR Constitutional Oversight

Committee to achieve a deferment of the putting into operation of this decree was without results.

On 31 July ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA published under the signature of the RSFSR president's press secretary P. Voshchanov a briefing as follows: "Having examined the appeal from the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee to the RSFSR president asking for a deferment of the decree 'on the suspension of the activity of the organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in the state organs, institutions, and organizations of the RSFSR,' the service of the RSFSR state adviser for legal policy is empowered to state the following:

"While treating with respect the activity of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, the RSFSR president finds no legal grounds for altering the schedule for introducing this decree. The decree will enter into force 4 August 1991 in precise accordance with the existing legislation of the RSFSR."

This reply attests primarily to the fact that the conclusion of the Constitutional Oversight Committee does not interest the RSFSR president, he is convinced that the decree is legal and its entry into force should not be delayed.

But if everything is clear here then why, one asks, have even the chairman of the country's supreme legislative organ, the top party organs of the CPSU and the RSFSR Communist Party, and other organizations, officials, and citizens asked the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee to ascertain whether this decree accords with the USSR Constitution, the RSFSR Constitution and international legal norms which contain universally recognized principles for the organization and activity of various organizations and associations? Why has the RSFSR president, while "treating with respect the activity of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee," nonetheless rejected that committee's justified appeal? Why is such haste needed in implementing this serious political and legal act?

We shall try to answer these and some other questions which today perturb not only Communists but also every progressively minded person.

The alarm over the RSFSR president's decree has been caused not only in connection with the fact that this act pursues political aims comprehensible to everyone but also in connection with the fact that it blatantly contradicts not only the USSR Constitution but also the RSFSR Constitution, the pact on civil and political rights, the convention on freedom of association and the protection of the right to organization (of 9 June 1948), and several other legal acts which should not be ignored in our country, in which we have decided to build a real rule-of-law state And what is a rule-of-law state? In a rule-of-law state all the activity of the organs of state power and management is regulated by the norms of the law, guaranteeing full freedom for the individual against the tyranny of the administration. In the rule-of-law state the organs of power do not have the right to interfere in individuals' private and social life.

Are these demands and principles observed in the RSFSR president's decree? There can only be one answer: No. And here is why.

1. In publishing his decree the RSFSR president obviously exceeded the powers granted to him by the RSFSR Constitution. As the supreme official of the USSR and chief of executive power in the republic, he has the right to publish decrees and rulings only on the basis and in execution of the RSFSR Constitution and RSFSR laws and decision of the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and the RSFSR SUpreme Soviet (articles 121-1 and 121-8 of the RSFSR Constitution).

The decree contains norms of a law-establishing nature which directly affect citizens' constitutional rights. Yet the regulation of the procedure for implementing citizens' constitutional rights, freedoms, and duties is the business of the legislative organs: of the USSR Supreme Soviet (point seven of article 113 of the USSR Constitution) and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet (point seven of article 109 of the RSFSR Constitution).

The RSFSR law "on the RSFSR President" did not give the republic's president the right to regiment and regulate the activity of public organizations, including political parties and mass movements. By adopting this decree the RSFSR president has gone beyond the framework of his powers, assuming the functions of the supreme organs of state power of the USSR and RSFSR.

2. Essentially the decree restricts citizens' right to unite in public organizations, parties, and movements, although neither the RSFSR Constitution nor the laws of the republic ban political parties and mass public movements from having their own primary organizations or other structures in state organs and institutions and at enterprises. The decree restricts the right of citizens, stipulated by article 48 of the USSR Constitution, to take part in the management of state and public affairs, including through participation in the work of public organizations and public self-administering organs. In accordance with part two article 51 of the USSR Constitution and part two article 49 of the RSFSR Constitution, public organizations are guaranteed conditions for their successful fulfillment of their statutory tasks. The reference in the decree's preamble to the need for such a ban for the purpose of "ensuring... equal rights for parties and movements in the elaboration of the state's policy and in the management of state affairs" sounds simply paradoxical, it is not based on the text of articles six and seven of the RSFSR Constitution. Article seven of the RSFSR Constitution stipulates that all political parties, public organizations, and mass movements, in fulfilling the functions stipulated by their programs and statutes, operate within the framework of the USSR Constitution, the RSFSR Constitution, the constitutions of the autonomous republics, and the laws of the USSR, RSFSR, and autonomous republics.

3. As has already been noted, the decree does not accord with the international pacts on human rights ratified by the Soviet Union. The RSFSR is part of the USSR as a federative state and for that reason, in accordance with article 28 of the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, no restrictions or exclusions not envisaged by pacts in the field of human rights should be allowed on its territory.

4. The decree contradicts articles 10 and 15 of the USSR law "on public associations" which does not contain any bans on the activity of political parties and mass public movements at citizens' place of work or service, including bans on determining their structure for themselves in their statutes.

The law "on public associations" bans the interference of state organs and officials in the legal activity of political parties, mass public movements, and other public associations except for cases stipulated by the law. Public associations, including political parties and their organizations (organs) implement their activity on a legal basis from the day their statutes are registered (article 11 of the USSR Law "on public associations") and operate in accordance with its provisions.

Thus the CPSU Statutes were registered 4 April 1991 in the USSR Ministry of Justice in accordance with article 11 of the USSR Law "on public associations" and all the party's structural organs operate in accordance with these Statutes. Article 16 of the CPSU statutes stipulates that the party is built along territorial-production lines and the party is based on primary organizations, which are created at Communists' places of work or residence.

The RSFSR Law "on enterprises and entrepreneurial activity" (part two, article 32) stipulates that on the territory of the RSFSR only the labor collective is granted the right to determine and regulate forms and methods of activity at an enterprise by political parties and religious and other organizations. The RSFSR president's decree is essentially illicit interference in the activity of political parties, public organizations, and mass movements.

5. The decree contradicts the USSR law "on trade unions and rights and guarantees of their activity" (part two article one of the decree). In accordance with this law working people have the right to create trade unions at enterprises, in institutions and organizations, and at other work places, and the trade unions themselves are in their activity independent of organs of state management and economic organs and determine their structure and organize their activity independently (articles two and three). That is why the decree's authorization of the activity of trade unions' organizational structures only by agreement between the administration of the state institution, organization, or enterprise and the labor collective is a very gross violation of the legislatively enshrined rights of the labor collectives and trade unions and illegal interference in their professional activity.

The right to unite into trade unions without anyone's prior consent and to create trade unions at enterprises and in institutions and organizations is the exclusive prerogative of the working people themselves and also of people studying in higher and secondary special educational establishments (article two of the USSR law "on trade unions and the rights and guarantees of their activity."

Article three of the law establishes the trade unions' independence, in their activity, of organs of state management, economic organs and political organizations, to which they are not subordinate and which do not control them. Article six of the law bans the legislation of union and autonomous republics from restricting the rights of trade unions established by USSR legislation. The decree, however, makes the possibility of trade unions' activity dependent on an agreement between the administration and the labor collective. Consequently, unless such an agreement is reached, the trade union cannot operate, which contradicts article six of the RSFSR Constitution, which proclaims the right of trade unions to take part in the management of state and public affairs.

In accordance with article 14 of the USSR law "on public associations" the suspension of the activity of public associations is the prerogative of their leading organs. And the right to abolish public associations, in accordance with article 22 of the law, has been granted only to legal organs if the public associations violate the requirements of their statutes and the law.

In accordance with part three article five of the USSR law "on public associations" state organs and officials are not allowed to interfere in the activity of public associations except for cases stipulated by the law.

Those are just the main legal criteria which the RSFSR president has blatantly ignored in publishing the abovementioned decree.

But... a number of other questions also arise demanding serious consideration and practical solution.

And here is the main one: The RSFSR president's decree came into force yesterday, 4 August. What does that mean?

As a lawyer and guardian of the law I can say only one thing: A law which has come into legal force should be executed unconditionally. This demand also applies in full to the RSFSR president's decree. But at the same time the following question arises: Has the procedure, the mechanism for this decree's execution been defined? No, it has not. Another question: Does the decree or any other normative act provide for really ensuring normal working conditions for those primary party organizations which will be abolished at Communists' places of work? And again the answer is no. But the law (the USSR Constitution, the RSFSR Constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) has established that every person has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association, that "public organizations are guaranteed *conditions* for their successful fulfillment of their statutory tasks" (article 49 of the RSFSR Constitution). And in this case the *statutory* tasks provide for the building of a party on the territorial-production principle. So why does the RSFSR president's decree say nothing about how the CPSU primary party organizations should work *in future?* Who will ensure the allocation of appropriate premises and ensure other working conditions? Who? There is no reply so far.

The decree was published "with a view to ensuring the *equal rights* established by the RSFSR Constitution for political parties and mass public movements in the elaboration of the state's policy and in the management of state affairs and to preventing the interference of public associations in the activity of state organs and the influence of the interparty struggle on the functioning of the state apparatus..." I do not understand what equality the president is speaking of if at present not a single one of the newly formed parties and movements has its own primary organizations in the system of state institutions and organizations. Therefore it would be more correct to say: banning the activity of the CPSU in the apparatuses of power and management of the RSFSR and in state institutions, enterprises, and organizations. But that sounds very unpleasant and undemocratic. That is why the questions could not be formulated like that. But the time will come when in the state organs, institutions, and organizations there will appear the organizational structures of other, *newly created* political parties and movements which will demand that this decree of the RSFSR president be repealed. And I think that I shall not be wrong if I say that then this decree undoubtedly will be repealed, since the cells of the CPSU—the primary party organizations—will no longer exist and the existence of other parties will be enshrined by legislative means. That is the prospect which awaits the CPSU if the RSFSR president's decree exists and operates.

That is why as a lawyer it seem to me that point one of the RSFSR president's decree banning the creation of new primary organizations, committee, and other organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in the RSFSR organs of state management and the activity of existing ones should be repealed. I do not know what the decision of the Constitutional Oversight Committee will be on this question but it seems to me that in a country where it has been decided to build a rule-of-law state bans cannot operate which suppress not only democracy but also citizens' rights and legal interests.

As a lawyer with a long work record and a great deal of experience, I should like to formulate precisely my attitude toward specific points (theses) of the RSFSR president's decree, to wit: Point one of the decree is a most flagrant violation of human rights and therefore should be repealed by the president himself or higher-ranking organs.

As for point two of the decree, I believe it is acceptable in that part which says that "state employees have the right to take part in the activity of political parties and mass public movements in their nonworking time," but I cannot agree with the president's demands that this participation should be "outside state organs, institutions, organizations, and enterprises." One asks where in that case these organizations will perform their work? The president's decree does not mention that. Deliberately? Perhaps it is, because, by banning the activity of public organizations at their members' places of work, this activity is in practice deprived of a real foundation and is subject to suspension through having no opportunity to really implement its rights.

I should like to welcome the decree's demands in that part which says that "the indication, and the demand for the indication, in official documents submitted to state organs, institutions, and organizations, of membership in political parties and mass public movements is banned."

Thus the debate revolves around the demands of article one of the RSFSR president's decree which says that "the creation of new and the activity of existing *primary* (italics are mine—Ya.D.) organizations, committees, and other organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements is banned."

I also welcome point two of the decree, which says that "people in state service are guided in their official activity by the demands of RSFSR legislation (of course it should have said: legislation of the RSFSR and the USSR—Ya.D.) and are not bound by decisions of political parties and mass public movements."

Very correctly put!

I also welcome the decree's demand for a reexamination of so-called joint decisions taken by the USSR government or union republic government and the relevant party organ.

And a last question on which I should like to dwell. That is the question of party property. Since the decree there have already been transparent hints that the next step is the confiscation and nationalization of CPSU property. What can be said here? Party property is the party members' collective property. CPSU members created this property and no one except them has the right to dispose of it. In addition as of 12 October 1990 the USSR president's decree "on measures to safeguard the inviolability of the right of ownership in the USSR has been in operating, stipulating that "acts of organs of state power and administration connected with the illegal confiscation of material and monetary assets and other property belonging to citizens, labor collectives, public organizations, and other proprietors are not to be executed as they contradict the USSR Constitution." The same decree stipulated that the actions of official sor citizens carried out with a view to actually confiscating property from its proprietors or aimed at restricting the proprietor's rights to possess, use, or dispose of property belonging to him are not based on a decision of the court, State Arbitration Board, or other competent state organ and are illegal and entail the penalty envisaged by the law.

The organs of the prosecutor's office are called on to ensure the protection of this property and to resolutely halt its illegal confiscation. The law demands that all the measures it envisages be taken to ensure that illegally confiscated property is immediately returned to its legal owners and that law violators be subject to criminal, administrative, and property liability.

Belorussia

Council of Ministers on Slumping Production

LD0808092491 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belorussian 25 Jul 91 p 1

[Excerpts] A meeting took place at the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Council of Ministers the day before yesterday. The republic's economy from January to June, and the tasks of stabilizing the economy in the second half of 1991 were discussed. [passage omitted] While the production slump in the country has stopped, in the republic it continues to become more and more grave.

Let us turn our attention to the figures which were aired at the sitting or are included in the publication of the Belorussian SSR State Committee for Statistics. The national income for half a year has dropped by 5 percent, industrial production (in comparative prices) - by 4.3 percent. The production dropped by 5.5 percent in May and by over 8 percent in June. At the same time, the population's expenditure has gone up by 54 percent, and, as is already understood, it is not supported by a corresponding production of goods and services. Generally, the goods filling of our ruble (services counted too) is only 13 kopeks. [sentence as received]

The worst situation is in the agro-industrial complex and, naturally, in supplying the population of the republic with foodstuffs. It is expected that this year we will receive slightly over seven million tonnes of grain. This is two million tonnes less than envisaged by the corresponding program, which is also called "grain" and was adopted this year, and one million tonnes less than last year (and among other things, the sown area was reduced this year). [passage omitted on need to involve townfolk in agricultural work]

During the first half of the year the trade network received considerably less potatoes (minus 18 percent) and vegetables (minus 12 percent), and so on.

One of the most alarming positions on the matter of provisions for the population is sugar. Its resources for the third quarter of the year are only 30 percent of last year's level. The question was even handled in such a way: to find a way out at the expense of the Minsk confectionery factory.... It is also possible to buy additional sugar, but the republic is asked three rubles per kg for it.

In general, 8.6 percent less food-stuffs have been produced than last year. There is still an inconsiderable growth (1.9 percent) in the production of goods other than foodstuffs. At the same time, the production of light industry goods has been reduced. Light industry in general is threatening to make us introduce a more severe economic regime. Minister M. Gulev announced that if measures are taken to solve the problem with raw materials, chemicals, and fibers the decline will be stopped. If not, things will become even worse. The republic is refused supplies of raw materials from all directions and their price grows unbelievably. In this connection the minster even suggested that it would be said honestly and openly that in our republic too the prices for footwear and clothes will grow and that, so to speak, we need free prices in order not to rob the treasury....

I should mention that the minister was "reprimanded" on the spot for these words from the chairman of the meeting - M. Myasnikovich, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers. Meanwhile, the question of prices, although in a slightly different aspect, has not been removed from the agenda.

Incredible prices are asked for leather goods, wood, sugar, alcohol, wine materials, and many other goods which are supplied to our republic. On the other hand, our peasants, despite various posts, secretly transport their steers and piglets to the meat-processing sector in the neighboring republics where the prices for meat are higher.

It is worthwhile noting that the policy of the Council of Ministers is becoming more strict. It is again proposed to bind wages to production volumes and work productivity and "by 15 August... to work out and submit to the Belorussian SSR State Planning Committee... work plans for fighting losses and increasing profitability of enterprises...." [passage omitted]

Communists Note 'Alarm' at RSFSR Decree

LD0808085691 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belorussian 0650 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] The (?party) newspapers have published a statement by the Central Committee buro of the communist party of Belorussia concerning the decree of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president on 20 June 1991 on stopping [word indistinct] of organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in state bodies, establishments, and organizations of the RSFSR. It is stressed that this document was perceived by the communist party of Belorussia with a feeling of alarm. The whole matter is essentially an forcible departyization of state structures, enterprises, establishments, and organizations. It cannot be tolerated in a state functioning in accordance with law which we are building. It strikes a blow at the CPSU and other public organizations. This decree on conditions of transferring to the market destroys the institutes of social protection which function in work collectives. The Belorussian communists are not indifferent to the conditions in which their comrades in the party in the RSFSR will have to work. We are bound with the people of the RSFSR by fraternal friendship and close cooperation of many years.

Republic Academy of Enterprise Established

LD0408161591 Moscow TASS in English 1557 GMT 4 Aug 91

[By correspondent Tatyana Khryapina]

[Text] Minsk August 4 TASS—The Belorussian Academy of Enterprise, which was set up in this Soviet republic last month at the initiative of the Union of Entrepreneurs and Leaseholders and the Association of Independent Economists of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], announced the enrollment of students.

"To work in conditions of market relations without knowing their essence is a direct way towards bankruptcy," Yuriy Veselov, rector of the Belorussian Academy of Enterprise, who is vice president of the republican Union of Entrepreneurs and Leaseholders, told TASS.

"As the republic switches to market economics, our academy that united a whole range of independent commercial structures will train entrepreneurs capable of working in the conditions of a market," Veselov said.

"We realise that entrepreneurship is a specific mode and style of thinking," Veselov emphasised. He believes that the training of an entrepreneur should begin from the childhood. A children's school of entrepreneurship has already opened its doors within the academy. In attending this school, senior graders will acquire professions necessary for business.

Veselov said that studies at two departments of the higher school of business would begin in September. Its branches will eventually open in the cities of Grodno, Brest, Vitebsk, Molodechno, Bobruisk and Mogilev, the republic's regions that have a high concentration of factories and plants.

The academy and the International Institute of Management in the city of Lausanne concluded an agreement on mutually beneficial cooperation. The institute supplied to the academy its training programmes that were certified by the World Union of Entrepreneurs in Geneva. Thirty Belorussian students will undergo training at the Lausanne institute in 1992. The academy's departments will take part in implementing jointly with the U.S. firm IBM the school of business project.

"In addition to training, the Belorussian Academy of Enterprise will carry out an array of projects to forge information, consultative and marketing interaction between members of the republic's Union of Entrepreneurs and Leaseholders and to provide services to them," Veselov said.

He named the holding of a roundtable conference on privatising plants, which will be attended by foreign experts, among the first practical steps in this direction. The conference is expected to draft a plan to privatise enterprises in Belorussia, mindful of the republic's specificities, its legislation and international experience.

Trial Sparks 'Tide of Protests'

OW0708034891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1815 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Minsk strike committee says a tide of protests has swept Belorussia in protest against the court trial of the chairman of the Orsha strike committee Nikolay Razumov. He is accused of organizing unauthorized rallies and railway blockade in the course of last April's industrial action.

On the first days of the trial two major industrial facilities—the tools manufacturing and light engineering plants in Orsha came to a stand-still.

In Minsk, there has been a one-hour warning strike at the Kozlov electrical engineering plant, the automatic production lines plant and the gear wheel manufacturing plant.

On August 5 there was a rally at a daughter facility of the elevator building plant. It adopted a resolution demanding a stop to the trial. The workers warned they would go on strike unless their demand was met.

On August 6 there was a one-hour warning strike at the "Elektronmash" plant. A rally is expected to take place on the same day at a ball-bearing plant.

On Wednesday, stoppages may affect four industrial facilities. Fifteen thousand workers from these plants are going to leave for Mogilev where Razumov is standing trial.

Ukraine

Communist Party Stands With RSFSR Communists

LD0708190991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1722 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug (TASS)—The Secretariat of the Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee has expressed solidarity with and fraternal support for the communists of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR].

A telegram addressed to the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee condemns the unlawful actions by the official leadership of the Russian Federation to force from enterprises and establishments organizational structures of the Communist Party and mass public movements which are carrying out the social protection of working people. The actions of people calling themselves "democrats," who are blantantly flouting the legitimate rights of the working people and trying to destroy the foundations of the Communist Party—the expression of the fundamental interests of Soviet people and the only force capable of protecting the Union state—are described as blasphemous.

It is reported that meetings are being held in Ukrainian party organizations, the participants in which—both communists and nonparty members—support the statements by the Central Committee Politburo and the Central Control Commission of the July (1991) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee on this question, condemn the points of the RSFSR presidential decree on departization and appeal to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR president, to adopt all lawful measures to protect the rights of Communists and members of mass public movements.

Further on British Chancellor's Visit

PM0708140391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 91 Second Edition p 5

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent A. Trotsenko: "To Tell Colleagues... British Chancellor of Exchequer's Stay in Ukraine"]

[Text] Kiev, 5 Aug—"We know that the USSR economy has encountered very serious problems which your country is seeking to overcome by means of radical reforms. The purpose of my visit to the Soviet Union is to learn how they are being implemented in practice," British Chancellor of the Exchequer N. Lamont declared.

My meeting with President M.S. Gorbachev, my talks with USSR First Deputy Prime Minister V.I. Shcherbakov, as well as at the USSR Ministry of Finances, and my trip to the Ukraine, the guest went on to point out, have convinced me that the majority of people both at the center and in the republic prefer the market economy. Specific steps have already been taken and are being taken in this direction, about which I intend to brief my colleagues—the finance ministers of the "G-7," he emphasized.

During his two-day stay in the Ukraine N. Lamont visited a defense industry enterprise—Kiev's "Almaz" Plant of the "Arsenal" Production Association. The conversion of this plant is now fully under way. This enterprise was set up to produce electronic-optical guidance systems for SS-20 missiles. "Artificial kidney" equipment and various instruments are now produced there. A specific offer was made to the chancellor for the participation of British firms in setting up joint ventures with Ukrainian partners on the basis of "Almaz" production areas.

The guest made a trip to the collective farm Named for the 40th anniversary of October, where progressive grain-crop cultivation technologies are successfully being introduced jointly with British specialists.

Premier Warns of Shortfall in Grain Harvest

LD0808093691 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2200 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] We have already reported that Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin spoke on republican TV today. We present a summary of this speech to the attention of esteemed listeners:

Vitold Fokin started his speech by saying: Extraordinary circumstances made me address you. The harvest of early grain crops is ending on the fields of the Ukraine. It turned out to be worse than that of last year but not so bad in comparison with average rates for many years. The total yield is forecast to be on the scale of nearly 44 million tonnes. This is enough to ensure a decent level of consumption of foodstuffs by the population of the republic—but on condition, the Prime Minister stressed, that the state will buy from peasants at least 17 million tonnes of grain. So far, only 6.2 million tonnes of bread grain have been received by the republican granaries.

The purchase prices for agricultural produce were raised by the government by almost 1.5 times. Still higher prices were fixed for grain delivered in excess of the [state] order. More than 12 billion rubles [R] were allocated for all this from the state budget. A total of almost R1,1 billion [as received] worth of debts was written off the accounts of collective and state farms.

Vitold Fokin expressed anxiety about the fact that in spite of all the measures taken by the government bread grain is not being delivered to state granaries. The Prime Minister noted that the government is trying to ensure state purchases of [word indistinct] at an extremely high price. And collective and state farms want to use the harvest at their own discretion and sell bread grain to anyone and at highest prices. Therefore they are holding back its delivery.

In order to provide the population with bread the state has to purchase 11 million tonnes of grain; 4.5 million tonnes are needed for fodder to produce meat, milk, and eggs; 1.5 million tonnes are needed for industrial processing of grain for food concentrates; and almost 1 million tonnes of grain have to be set aside for seed stock. In total that comes to 18 million tonnes. At present 6.2 million tonnes have been sold to the state out of 26 million tonnes of threshed grain. This means that 20 million tonnes of grain have accumulated on threshing floors including that not designed for long-term storage. This grain is under threat, Vitold Fokin noted.

The Prime Minister said some oblasts seem to be competing with each other as to who will deliver less bread for the state. Zaporozhye oblast is leading in this disgraceful competition, and Donetsk oblast grain deliveries are bad. Vitold Fokin agreed with journalist Oleksandr Horobets that the state of affairs with delivery of bread grain is nothing but a display of collective egotism which is against state sovereignty and against the independence of the republic in terms of foodstuffs.

The meeting with the leaders of southern oblasts, Vitold Fokin noted, showed that it is not the peasants who are boycotting the delivery of bread grain. This is the position of certain leaders of oblast and rayon authorities and leaders of farms. They demand price increases while not giving the slightest guarantees as regards the fulfillment of state orders. There is only one conclusion: Either to find a way to overcome the opposition of certain leaders of all structures of management in agriculture or the Ukraine will be faced with a threat of a semihungry [napivholodnyy] existence, with the reality of bread ration cards and endless lines near food stores.

We must also realize, the Prime Minister warned, that not all of the bread grain which will stay at collective and state farms and in private storehouses will stay in the Ukraine. A considerable part of it will be taken beyond

Ukraine's borders by profiteers and wholesale dealers. Instead, an enormous sum of paper money, not guaranteed by goods, which will flood our internal market, which is weak enough anyway, will end up in the pockets of a relatively small group of the population. And the result will be a new spiral of hyperinflation, many-fold price increases, and the most acute shortages. And it is doubtful whether extremely strict measures regarding the export of agricultural produce outside the borders of the republic, which we had to resort to, will help in this case, Vitold Fokin stressed. He only gave a few examples when attempts were made to take out of the Ukraine hundreds of tonnes of buckwheat, dozens of tonnes of sunflower oil, sugar, and other products.

Not many people at all like the actions that the Ukrainian Government of the had to resort to in order to stop the export of agricultural products out of the republic. Programs of the all- union radio, publications in the central press, where the Ukrainian Government is accused of separatism, egotism, and virtual treachery are evidence of this. Vitold Fokin resolutely dismissed similar accusations. He stressed that the ban on exports of main types of agricultural products is not an obstacle for economic contacts with other republics. They apply to supplies which are fulfilled in accordance with the concluded interrepublican agreements. In addition, these restrictions are temporary. They will operate until the Ukraine stores the necessary minimum of food resources. And after that the republic will support in every way direct interfarm relations, including so-called barter.

Concluding his speech, Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin appealed to all agricultural workers to do everything to fill the Ukraine's state granaries with grain from the present harvest and assured them that the government will make maximum efforts to provide the countryside with everything which is necessary for productive labor and social development.

Moldova

Prime Minister Meets Romania's Roman

OW0708033391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Tuesday, in Kishinev, after talks between the delegations of Romania, led by Prime Minister Petre Roman, and the republic of Moldova, led by Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy, agreements were signed on economic cooperation and trade and on setting up an inter-governmental commission on economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation.

At a press conference Romania's prime minister said that positive changes in the Soviet Union could be judged, among other things, from the fact that the Republic of Moldova acted as an independent legal entity.

Answering journalists' questions, Petre Roman said that with Moldova's mediation, Romania could establish contacts with other republics, wile Modlova could establish contacts with Europe through Romania.

"The present agreement will turn Moldova into a truly European state," said Moldova's prime minister, Valeriy Muravskiy.

Economic Accord With Romania Signed

LD0608202791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Aug 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondents M. Sokirke and V. Mishchenko]

[Text] An intergovernmental agreement between the Republic of Moldova and Romania was signed in Kishinev today. Here is our correspondent's report:

Let me note straight away that this document, signed by Moldovan Prime Minister Valeriy Muravskiy and Romanian prime minister Peter Roman is purely businesslike and does not touch upon political aspects of mutual relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania. It provides for further development of economic co-production and commercial links. It plans for closer cooperation in tackling economic issues, in setting up, upon a mutually acceptable basis, joint enterprises and associations, in order to have a more intensive exchange of goods at world prices. It is noteworthy that the agreement that has been signed provides legal underpinning for the economic and commercial relations, making them more orderly and eliminating the possibility that they may develop chaotically or that laws may be violated. The Romanian prime minister also had a meeting with Mircha Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova. The head of the Romanian government laid a wreath at the Stefan cel Mare monument and visited the Alfa color television works.

Georgia

Presidential Powers Increased by Constitution

AU0808095991 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 30 July 91 p 1

[Republic of Georgia Law "On Introducing Changes and Additions to the Republic of Georgia Constitution" issued in Tbilisi on 25 July]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia resolves the following:

To introduce the following changes and additions into the Constitution of the Republic of Georgia:

1. Part 1 of Article 121 prime 2 must read as follows:

"A citizen of the Republic of Georgia, born in Georgia, aged between 35 and 65 years, and permanently residing in Georgia for at least the last five years may be elected president of the Republic of Georgia."

2. Items 10 and 13 of Article 121 prime 4 must read as follows:

"10) [He] signs the laws of the Republic of Georgia: [He] has the right to return, within two weeks, the [draft] law with his own objections to the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council or to the supreme council of an autonomous republic for another discussion and voting. If the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia or the supreme council of an autonomous republic confirm, by a two-thirds majority vote, their previous decision, the president of the Republic of Georgia will sign the law of the Republic of Georgia, or will issue a decree on suspending the action of the law of the autonomous republic, or will make it the subject of a referendum;"

"13) [He] has the right to cancel resolutions and orders of the government of the Republic of Georgia, acts of ministries and other organs under their jurisdiction, and resolutions and orders of prefects; [he] can suspend the action of laws of autonomous republics, resolutions of supreme councils of autonomous republics, and resolutions and orders of councils of ministers of autonomous republics, if they contradict the Constitution or laws of the Republic of Georgia."

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, president of the Republic of Georgia.

25 July 1991

Tbilisi

Government, Prefects Discuss Grave Situation

AU0608095591 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 23 Jul 91 p 1

[By Mayya Aludauri on Georgian prefects' "Meeting in the Georgian Government" in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] The prefects of Georgian towns and rayons assembled in the Georgian Government to discuss the grave socioeconomic situation that has arisen in the republic, and to map out ways of overcoming it. It was stressed at the meeting that the center is trying in every possible way to exacerbate the situation in the republic, that it has virtually declared an economic blockade, and has reduced the economic mechanism, which is already in crisis, to a state of catastrophe.

A speech was delivered at the meeting by Tengiz Sigua, chairman of the Republic of Georgia government, who gave a full and objective picture of the socioeconomic situation in Georgia today. In particular he said that because of the non-supply of raw materials, many enterprises, plants and factories had almost come to a halt. Fuel and energy supplies to the republic had reached crisis point. The absence of fuel had created difficulties even for bread deliveries to the population. The republican government was taking all possible measures to stabilize the situation. An important role in this was naturally played by active cooperation between the local authorities and the ministries and departments. It was issues of such cooperation that were the subjects of profound discussion at the meeting.

The prefects were given exhaustive information on the situation existing in individual sectors of the economy.

Guram Absandze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia government and minister of the economy and finance, spoke about the financial situation in the republic. He pointed out that the unsystematic reforms by the totalitarian authorities in the center and the overcentralization predominating in the planning system had led the economy and finances of the Republic of Georgia into a grave crisis. The process of forming the financial resources of a whole number of enterprises and economic organizations had been virtually halted, and the financial potential of almost all sectors of the economy had been severely reduced. Added to this were the non-fulfillment of economic targets, and disruption to the regime of economy, and financial and payments discipline. It was the elimination of these shortcomings that the local authorities should work on. Within the structure of the prefectures, the process of setting up economic service bureaus and staffing them with the right personnel needed to be accelerated. Local government bodies should provide practical assistance in the creation and operation of small enterprises and cooperatives. Everything should be done to fulfill the targets for payments to the budget and to reduce local budget deficits.

Zurab Kopaliani, acting trade minister, and Resan Kontselidze, chairman of the board of Tsekavshiri [Georgian Union of Cooperative Societies], reported on the state of trade services in the republic. It was explained that the republic's industry was not providing the contracted supplies of goods. A complex situation had come about in the trading system, whereby instances of goods being concealed from public sale and sold under the counter had become more frequent. Centralized deliveries of goods to the republic had almost ceased, while the import of goods from other republics was possible only at freely negotiated, contractual prices. It was pointed out that strong measures needed to be taken to eliminate shortcomings in the supply of bread to the population, and in particular that flour should not be released for general sale or for baking bread at public catering establishments and cooperatives.

Kim Svanadze, first deputy board chairman of the republican state bank, spoke of the unenviable situation regarding money circulation in the republic. He noted that the money circulation had drastically worsened in the second quarter of the year, and that the bank was experiencing a severe shortage of banknotes.

Tamaz Gugushvili, minister of labor, social protection and demography, pointed to the social difficulties involved in the transition to a free market system.

Vakhtang Razmadze, republican general procurator, reported on the grave situation under which work had to be performed in the republic.

Anzor Chlikadze, minister of agriculture, forestry and the food industry, spoke about the management structure and cadres policy in agriculture, and noted that questions of denationalizing the state sector of the economy urgently needed to be solved.

Tengiz Kitovani, chairman of the Republican Government Commission on Defense, reported to the meeting on the results of the spring call-up into the National Guard. He asked the prefects to assist the call-up process in their localities.

In his speech, Iosif Baratashvili, chief of the local self-government bureau in the presidential apparatus, focused on the serious approach to local self-government bodies and assistance for them.

German Medzmariashvili, chairman of the Sakneftеprodukty [Georgian Petroleum Products] concern, spoke of the difficulties that had arisen in supplying the republic with petroleum products.

Speeches were delivered at the meeting by Bekar Gigineishvili, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia government; Georgiy Khoshtariya, republican foreign minister; and Bezhan Gonashvili, member of the Supreme Council.

In addition to other topical issues, the attention of the participants in the meeting was drawn to the problems involved in holding the European waterskiing championship in Poti, and to a number of other problems whose solution would be to the benefit of the republic.

Problems which had arisen in the localities were described by Archil Kostava, Irakliy Andriadze, Nino Mirianashvili, Tsiala Guledani, Omar Chubinidze, and Merab Goguadze, prefects of Kutaisi, Tbilisi, Kaspi rayon, Mestia rayon, Gori rayon, and Lanchkhuti rayon.

The participants in the meeting agreed that such constructive meetings should be held regularly.

The results of the meeting were summed up by Mr. Tengiz Sigua.

Armenia

Geranboy Region 'Considerably Improved'

OW0708165791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1100 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a Tuesday briefing in Yerevan the acting Armenian Interior Minister Ashot Manucharyan said that over the past few days the situation in Geranboi (formerly Shaumian) region of Azerbaijan has considerably improved.

He said that the Armenian side remains concerned about the hostage problem. Five militiamen and one civilian captured at the beginning of last May during an attack on the village of Voskepar, Noemberian region, Armenia have not returned yet. They are kept in Gyandzha.

Manucharyan feared that there could be another outburst of the hostage war. Some unofficial associations are taking hostages at their own initiative to exchange them for their relatives because they no longer believe the problem can be solved at government level.

On the guerilla actions in Geranboi region and Nagorno-Karabakh the official said that the remaining residents of the villages from which Armenians have been deported are determined to fight to the very end.

Manucharyan also said that the Armenian Defence Committee has invited all persons in the republic possessing arms to have them registered by August 15. On September 1 the Armenian Interior Ministry will start confiscating unregistered weapons.

Azerbaijan

Mutalibov Prevents Russian Deputies' Investigation

LD0708153191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1330 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Azerbaijan President Mutalibov has prevented a commission of Russian deputies from entering Geranboyskiy Rayon—the former Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. The commission consists of Anatoliy Shabad; Viktor Sheynis; Lev Ponomarev; and Colonel General Kolesnikov, chief of staff of the USSR land forces. They intended to check, on the spot, where combat operations had taken place, on the crimes perpetrated by the soldiers of the Soviet Army and by Azerbaijan OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] during the deportation of the Armenian population. According to the deputies. Mutalibov's grounds for his decision were that the commission's presence would destabilize the situation in the region.

Polyanichko, second secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist Party, put forward another, powerful argument: It is his view that the investigation may hamper the election campaign for the post of the president of the republic. A suggestion was made to the deputies and the colonel general who accompanied them that they come in September. USSR Minister of Defense Dmitriy Yazov assisted the commission, but this failed to budge the Azerbaijani authorities, the IMMA-PRES Agency reports.

Orders Firing on Helicopters

OW0708203891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A helicopter with passengers on board arrived today in Yerevan from Stepanakert escorted by 3 military helicopters. It seems that from now on all passenger flights Yerevan-Stepanakert and back will be accomplished in this fashion because, according to the information centre of "Dashnaktsutiun", an Armenian political party, President Ayaz Mutalibov of Azerbaijan has ordered to shoot at all helicopters which violate the republic's air space. Nagorno-Karabakh with its capital, Stepanakert, is surrounded by Azerbaijan.

Appeal for Azerbaijian Election Boycott

OW0608142891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] Non-sanctioned meeting of many thousands was held on Monday in Nakhichevan (which is a part of Azerbaijan). The meeting was organized by the leadership of the Nakhichevanian Regional Department of the Azerbaijan People's Front.

According to an "IF" [INTERFAX] correspondent reporters in the meeting criticized the activities of the Chairman of the Supreme Medzhlis (Council) of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic Akpar Aliev who was illegally elected according to them. The deputies of the democratic block who form a third part of the deputies in the republican Parliament spoke out that they did not take part in the elections of the leader of the Supreme Medzhlis.

The reporters from the democratic block appealed to the Nakhichevan residents to ignore the presidential elections scheduled on September 8 in the meeting.

Azerbaijan, Israel Broaden Bilateral Relations

LD0508132191 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 5 Aug 91

[By Natan Barsky]

[Text] Baku August 5 TASS— A representative of the world Jewish Sohnut agency in Azerbaijan has brought 7,000 disposable syringes to this Soviet Transcaucasian republic as a gift to local oilmen from Israel. Leva Bardani presented the syringes to the oil industry's hospital in Baku.

"The present is a result of cooperation between Sohnut, on the one hand, and the Baku-based Azerbaijan-Israel Friendship Society and Jewish religious community, on the other," he told TASS.

"A number of Israeli business people and clergymen have visited Azerbaijan this year. An air charter service is to open between Baku and Tel Aviv. A festival of Jewish films in Baku has been a success.

"The visit by Israeli minister Yuval Ne'eman to Baku and his reception by Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov and signing of a communique on the development of bilateral relations have evoked a broad response.

"We hope that such contacts, which are definitely mutually advantageous, useful and most promising, will continue to gain in scope, facilitating better understanding between our peoples," Bardani said.

Kazakhstan

Yeltsin, Nazarbayev To Discuss Union Treaty

LD0608201891 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1957 GMT 6 Aug 91

[Text] According to preliminary information, a meeting should take place in Alma-Ata on 12 August between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev. This was reported in an interview with the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY by the deputy permanent representative of Kazakhstan in Moscow.

In all likelihood, the Russian leader will set off on the visit with the republic's Prime Minister Ivan Silayev. At the meeting they will discuss issues connected with signing the new Union treaty, but it will only be possible to speak in precise terms about the timing of the meeting after 9 August, when Boris Yeltsin returns from his visit to Tyumen Oblast.

ROK Parliamentary Delegation Visits Alma-Ata

SK0708092691 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1330 GMT 5 Aug 91

[From the "Various Aspects of Cooperation" program]

[Text] After visiting Moscow and Leningrad, an ROK parliamentary delegation visited Kazakhstan. In Alma-Ata, the capital of the Kazakh Republic, the delegation held talks in the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. Then Kim Yun-hwan, head of the delegation, talked with People's Deputy Song Chi-hyon and Dr. [word indistinct] about ROK economic (?finances) and the prospect of establishing direct relations with Kazakhstan.

In the course of talks with the leadership of the republic, the visitor emphasized: A favorable atmosphere has been created toward promoting economic and cultural cooperation between the ROK and Kazakhstan.

Mufti on Reported Growth of Islam in Republic

LD0808104291 Moscow TASS in English 0837 GMT 8 Aug 91

[By TASS correspondent Arkadiy Rotmistrovskiy]

[Text] Alma-Ata August 8 TASS—The number of Muslim communities increased five-fold in Kazakhstan over the past five years. Now there are more than 230 such communities in the second largest republic of the Soviet Union. Ratbek Nysanbayev, chief mufti of the spiritual board of Kazakh Muslims, believes that this growth is the direct result of democratisation of the life of society and the adoption by the Soviet Parliament of the law on the freedom of conscience and on religious organisations.

The activities of Muslim clergymen are becoming more and more versatile and extensive. Aside from mosques, they spread to some enterprises and institutions, army units and prisons. Mullahs take part in meetings with representatives of local councils of people's deputies, law enforcement agencies, research institutions and educational establishments. Religious books are being published in a large number of copies.

Several translations of the Koran into Kazakh have been made, and not only in Alma-Ata, but also in Minsk, capital of Belorussia. The Islamic Institute is functioning in Alma-Ata and courses for Muslim clergymen have been opened in various cities in the south of the republic. Relations with foreign religious organisations are developing. The independent newspaper ISLAM SHAPAGATY (Islam's Revelation) began to be published.

The construction and restoration of mosques are expanding, with the state promoting this process. The number of industrial firms, concerns, associations, factories, farms and individuals who regularly donate money for these purposes, as well as for charity activities, is growing.

Kazakhstan is witnessing the growth of the ranks and influence of supporters of the so-called pure Islam, who are in opposition on some matters to the spiritual board of Kazakh Muslims. Various public organisations of Muslim orientation have emerged, specifically, the League of Muslim Women.

Government Orders Measures Against Pollution

LD0808092191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2230 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] Let us begin this news bulletin with a brief summary of decisions of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers adopted in connection with the emergency ecological situation existing in East Kazakhstan Oblast. They are directed at implementing urgent measures to reduce emissions of harmful substances into the environment and a radical improvement of living conditions for the population.

Union and republican ministries and departments are instructed to carry out a whole number of works in respect of the construction, expansion, modernization, and technical reequipping of installations. The Cabinet of Ministers of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and the USSR Ministry of Resources are to allocate everything necessary for the fulfillment of the aforementioned works.

A decision has been adopted on the sale for freely convertible currency of a proportion of the output produced by the oblast's enterprises.

Funds will also be directed at measures to improve the environment. The USSR Ministry of Health and Kazakhstan's Government are to carry out a number of works to comprehensively study the public health and ecological situation and the state of health of the population in East Kazakhstan Oblast.

Further on Republic Pollution

LD0708170391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1300 GMT 7 Aug 91

[Text] The republican center for monitoring environmental pollution has carried out comprehensive research on the state of the atmosphere in 21 Kazakh towns. The results are: Kapchagay proved to be the cleanest town and Leninogorsk the most polluted. The situation with the republican water reserves is no better. The level of harmful substances in some of them exceeds the norm by 300 times. What a horrible figure!

Drought Forces Ban on External Grain Sales

PM0708152591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1

[S. Matayev report: "Kazakhstan Takes Measures to Protect Harvest"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—In Kazakhstan, the majority of whose regions have been hit by a very severe drought, the sale and export, outside the republic, of grain from the new harvest have been banned, and this includes barter exchanges. At the same time, all operations associated with grain purchases and sales have been frozen on the commodity exchanges. It is particularly emphasized that licensing of grain exports is being introduced.

The Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Cabinet of Ministers explains such a step prior to mass harvesting in the virgin lands by reference to more fully providing its own population with food and livestock raising with feed. Let us note that Kazakhstan is the major supplier of grain of durum and strong strains, which have always lent particular magnificence to bread throughout the Union.

In addition to strict bans, provision is made for material incentive measures. One of these is an increase in purchase prices. For example, after fulfilling 70 percent of the set target for deliveries of food grain, the purchase price on its subsequent sale increases threefold, and the republic is already ready to buy all the barley and oats at double the price.

Other measures to encourage grain deliveries to state resources have also been made public. In particular, the price of mixed feed in exchange for grain received from villagers has been reduced by one-third. The government of Kazakhstan is channeling all scarce goods—passenger cars and refrigerators, washing machines and sewing machines, knitted goods and footwear, and also coal—into countersales of grain.

Northern Oblasts Order Mobilization

LD0808090291 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0400 GMT 8 Aug 91

[Text] In fulfilling the Kazakhstan president's decree on extraordinary measures for the harvesting season, the oblast soviets of people's deputies of northern Kazakhstan have prescribed the compulsory mobilization of labor, transport, material and technical resources for the rural areas during this period. A resolution of the oblast soviets has imposed a ban on the unlicensed sale and export of grain outside the oblasts, including barter swaps and commodity exchange operations.

Drivers Attempt Grain Thefts in Republic

PM0508133191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent T. Yesilbayev: "Grain for Bottle"]

[Text] Kazakh SSR—This year's weather conditions have been unusually unfavorable for the Kazakhstan arable farmers. The drought has cancelled out all their calculations of raising a good grain harvest. If in the republic's virgin land oblasts they are only preparing for the harvest, in the West it has already begun.

Representatives of the city and rayon center labor collectives, the majority of whom are treating their patronage commitments conscientiously, have come to the grain growers' aid.

"But there are also thieves among them who are trying to profit from the people's property," says Akhmetzhan Mametov, staffer at the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs press center. "Thus, in Kamenskiy Rayon, Uralsk Oblast, recently militia workers arrested N. Shurinov, a driver from the 'Uralskvodresurs' enterprise, who tried to sell about three tonnes of stolen grain. And G. Lukpanov, a driver from the rayon No. 7 motor transport enterprise, managed to sell 1.5 tonnes of wheat for a bottle of vodka. The same quantity of grain was stolen by V. Yaskevich, a driver from the collective farm named for the 22d party congress in Zelenovskiy Rayon of the same oblast, but he sold it for a higher price—200 rubles."

All the wheat stolen from the state has been confiscated and the prosecutor's office has initiated criminal proceedings over the cases.

Republic Farmers Begin Selling Grain to State

LD0608021391 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Aug 91

[Summary] Kazakhstan grain elevators have been repaired and equipment modernized. Bread grain is being sold to the state in Chimkent, Dzhambul, and Uralsk Oblasts, but some farms are holding back sales in the hope of exchanging it profitably for agricultural machinery and spare parts to compensate for the price rises for industrial goods, building material, and mixed fodder.